Universität Innsbruck
Fakultät für LehrerInnenbildung

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TEACHING CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN AUSTRIA AND PORTUGAL: TEACHERS' VIEWS AND EXPERIENCES

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Thesis in international co-tutelle especially elaborated to obtain the degree of Doctor in Education, specialty of Teacher Education

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Abstract

For the past few decades, there has been a worldwide interest in teaching about democracy and the provision of citizenship education in schools as a response to several global and societal challenges. The current discourse on citizenship education is characterized by a lack of research on teachers' perspectives and experiences. While numerous studies have investigated how students understand and respond to citizenship education, little research has been conducted on teachers. Informed by the need to critically understand the perspectives and experiences of teachers when teaching for citizenship education, this study explores how a sample of teachers in Austria and Portugal respond, interact and conceptualize notions of citizenship and how they navigate their teaching and practices in today's European classrooms. Inspired by Critical Pedagogy and situated within a transformative learning framework, the study looks into teachers' views and experiences when teaching for citizenship and puts forward a framework for thick and transformative citizenship education that links democracy with social justice. Data was collected from in-depth semi-structured interviews, documents and classroom observations and a qualitative content analysis was used for the analysis. Data reveals the essential role of teachers' personal beliefs, identities and dispositions in teaching about citizenship, which is not often addressed in teacher education. Findings also reveal an apolitical approach to citizenship, mainly represented by a tendency to emphasize a personally responsible conceptualization of citizen, which, in turn, undermines the citizen-in-context and overemphasizes the rational and linear approach to citizenship. Findings also highlight a lack of teacher preparation in this area of education as well as various challenges that teachers face in teaching for citizenship in increasingly diverse classrooms, persisting structural injustices and technical, test-driven educational policies and practices. The findings also suggest a lack of coherent and consistent discourse on citizenship, often causing a gap between policy and practice. The study proposes a transformative and social justice oriented framework for teachers and teacher educators to approach teaching for democratic citizenship as a political enterprise that reconsiders and challenges unjust mindsets and practices as well as a learning enterprise that views teachers as lifelong learners and researchers whose identities and dispositions take an integral part in the process. This framework also acknowledges and embraces the complex, the unpredictable and the risky endeavor of education.

Abstrakt

Seit einigen Jahrzehnten besteht ein weltweites Interesse am Demokratieunterricht und an der Vermittlung von Politischer Bildung (*Citizenship Education*) an Schulen als Antwort auf verschiedene globale und gesellschaftliche Herausforderungen. Im gegenwärtigen Diskurs über Citizenship Education fehlen allerdings Forschungserkenntnisse über die Erfahrungen und Perspektiven von Lehrerinnen und Lehrern. Während in zahlreichen Studien untersucht worden ist, wie Schülerinnen und Schüler politische Bildung verstehen und darauf reagieren, wurde noch wenig über die Perspektive der Lehrerinnen und Lehrer geforscht. Vor dem Hintergrund eines kritischen Verständnisses der Perspektiven und Erfahrungen von Lehrpersonen über ihren Unterricht in Politischer Bildung wird in dieser Studie untersucht, wie eine Stichprobe von Lehrerinnen und Lehrern in Österreich und Portugal Elemente von Citizen Education rezipieren, was sie darunter verstehen, wie sie damit interagieren und in ihrer unterrichtlichen Vermittlung in der Klasse vor dem Hintergrund Europas damit umgehen. Inspiriert von der Kritischen Pädagogik und in einem transformativen Lernrahmen angesiedelt, werden in dieser Arbeit die Sichtweisen und Erfahrungen von Lehrerinnen und Lehrern in ihrem Unterricht in Politischer Bildung untersucht. Zugleich wird ein Rahmen für eine umfassende und transformative Politische Bildung vorgeschlagen, der Demokratie mit sozialer Gerechtigkeit verbindet. Zur wissenschaftlichen Analyse wurden Daten aus halb-strukturierten Interviews, Dokumenten und Unterrichtsbeobachungen sowie einer qualitativen Inhaltsanalyse herangezogen. Die Daten zeigen die wesentliche Rolle persönlicher Überzeugungen, Identitäten und Dispositionen der LehrerInnen zu ihrem Unterricht, die in der Lehrerbildung selten adressiert werden. Die Befunde offenbaren auch einen unpolitischen Ansatz zu Citizen Education, der hauptsächlich durch die Tendenz zur Betonung einer persönlich verantwortlichen Konzeptualisierung von Staatsbürgerschaft repräsentiert wird, was wiederum das Bürgerschaftsverständnis im Kontext untergräbt und eine rationale und lineare didaktische Konzeption von Staatsbürgerschaft überbetont. Die Ergebnisse der Studie unterstreichen auch die fehlende Vorbereitung der Lehrpersonen in diesem Bildungsbereich sowie die verschiedenen Herausforderungen, denen sich diese heutzutage beim Unterrichten in immer heterogener zusammengesetzten Klassenzimmern gegenübersehen, die anhaltenden strukturellen Ungerechtigkeiten und die technische, testorientierte Bildungspolitik und -praxis. Die Ergebnisse weisen auch auf einen fehlenden kohärenten und konsistenten Diskurs über Politische Bildung, der oft ein Theorie-Praxis-Problem bewirkt. Die Dissertation schlägt einen transformativen und auf soziale Gerechtigkeit ausgerichteten Rahmen für Lehrpersonen und Lehrerbildner*innen vor, um den Unterricht für demokratisches Handeln als ein politisches Unternehmen zu betrachten, das ungerechte Denkweisen und Praktiken überdenkt und in Frage stellt, sowie als ein lernendes Unternehmen, das Lehrpersonen als lebenslang Lernende und Forschende betrachtet, deren Identität und Dispositionen einen integralen Bestandteil des Prozesses bilden. In diesem Rahmen wird auch das komplexe, unvorhersehbare und riskante Unterfangen der Bildung anerkannt und akzeptiert.

Sumário

Esta investigação diz respeito ao ensino na área da educação para a cidadania na Áustria e em Portugal. Faz parte do Doutoramento Europeu em Formação de Professores (*European Teacher Education in Teacher Education* – EDiTE), uma Rede de Formação Inovadora Marie Sklodowska-Curie, apoiada pelo Horizonte 2020, o maior programa de investigação e inovação da União Europeia. O presente projeto desenvolve-se dentro do tema abrangente do programa EDiTE *Aprendizagem transformadora dos professores para uma melhor aprendizagem dos alunos num contexto europeu emergente*, e foca-se na aprendizagem de professores ao longo da vida. Destaca o papel potencial dos professores como agentes de mudança, problematiza a linguagem e a prática do ensino e da aprendizagem na educação para a cidadania e lança luz sobre o potencial da aprendizagem transformadora dos professores na manutenção de uma sociedade democrática e justa nas sociedades Europeias em constante mudança. Com base na necessidade de relacionar a investigação educativa à prática, o programa foi baseado na colaboração e parceria entre diferentes organizações educativas e escolas dos países participantes.

Esta investigação decorre da assunção de que a educação e os educadores têm uma responsabilidade moral de abordar ativamente os principais problemas locais e globais. Numa época em que há uma grande esperança no progresso económico, na tecnologia e na comunicação, e nos seus potenciais para solucionar os problemas do mundo, ficamos impotentes ao enfrentar grandes ameaças e crises, que deixaram de ser problemas locais. Desde conflitos armados a ameaças ambientais, estes problemas e as suas consequências não estão mais confinados a certas fronteiras geográficas. Nas últimas décadas, tem havido um interesse mundial em ensinar sobre democracia e na oferta de educação para a cidadania nas escolas como resposta a vários desafios globais e sociais. A investigação revela que as abordagens predominantes da educação para a cidadania nas escolas são descritas como limitadas, superficiais e vinculadas à construção de uma identidade nacional. A investigação revela também haver uma discrepância entre o discurso oficial sobre educação para a cidadania e a realidade dos currículos escolares e das práticas de ensino que, muitas vezes, falham em não abordar questões de justiça social. O discurso atual sobre educação para a cidadania é caracterizado pela falta de investigações sobre as perspetivas e experiências dos professores. Embora numerosos estudos tenham investigado como os alunos entendem e respondem à educação para a cidadania, pouca pesquisa foi realizada com professores. Informado pela necessidade de entender criticamente as perspetivas e experiências dos professores ao desenvolver educação para a cidadania, este estudo explora como os professores na Áustria e em Portugal respondem, interagem e concetualizam noções de cidadania e como eles navegam no ensino e nas práticas nas salas de aula europeias de hoje. Inspirado na Pedagogia Crítica, que preconiza o diálogo, consciência crítica, transformação e agência, e situado num quadro teórico de aprendizagem transformadora, o estudo analisa as visões e experiências dos professores ao ensinar para a cidadania e apresenta um referencial de educação para a cidadania denso e transformativo, que inter-relaciona democracia e justiça social.

Por ser uma área educacional carregada de valor, a educação para a cidadania coloca muitas questões difíceis sobre o significado de termos um bom currículo, um bom objetivo de ensino ou uma boa prática de educação para a cidadania. Este estudo aventura-se no campo desta

área de pesquisa e procura *insights* a partir de dois países europeus, especificamente Áustria e Portugal, que recentemente introduziram reformas curriculares, num evidente esforço para fortalecer mais a educação para a cidadania. Na Áustria, a educação para a cidadania tem sido ensinada como um tema transversal aos currículos e como uma disciplina integrada na História. No entanto, um novo currículo de "História, Educação para a Cidadania e Estudos Sociais", com módulos obrigatórios de educação para a cidadania, foi testado no ano letivo (2015/16). Do mesmo modo, esta investigação coincidiu com grandes reformas da educação para a cidadania em Portugal, com o lançamento do currículo de autonomia e flexibilidade (Autonomia e Flexibilidade Curricular), que integrou a Estratégia Nacional de Educação para a Cidadania (ENEC) em 2017 e que definiu um quadro temporal para a introdução da cidadania no 2º e 3º ciclos do ensino básico. Os dois países constituíram contextos intrigantes de mudanças e reformas significativas na educação para a cidadania, nos quais explorar as atitudes e práticas dos professores, tendo em mente o tema abrangente do EDiTE.
A investigação situa a educação para a cidadania nos processos globais atuais, que definiram e redefiniram a educação e o papel da educação em todo o mundo, de entre as quais a globalização, a migração e a Internet. A investigação procura fornecer informações sobre as seguintes questões:

1. Como os professores veem o ensino para a cidadania democrática? Quais são os objetivos que eles tentam alcançar nas suas aulas quando ensinam cidadania e como?
2. Como e em que medida os professores promovem abordagens críticas para a educação para a cidadania?

De modo a obter uma descrição rica e completa da educação para a cidadania nas escolas, o estudo baseia-se numa análise de conteúdo qualitativa para tratar os dados recolhidos através de entrevistas semiestruturadas em profundidade (17 na Áustria e 13 em Portugal) com professores, formadores de professores, especialistas em políticas educativas, bem como análise de documentos e observação em sala de aula. Os dados foram recolhidos de forma intermitente, entre março de 2017 e junho de 2019.
Os dados revelam o papel essencial das crenças, identidades e disposições pessoais dos professores no ensino da cidadania, o que geralmente não é abordado na formação de professores. Os valores pessoais e o comprometimento dos professores com o projeto da democracia têm um papel vital na sala de aula de educação para a cidadania. Os resultados revelam também uma abordagem apolítica da cidadania, representada principalmente por uma tendência em enfatizar uma concetualização do cidadão pessoalmente responsável, que, por sua vez, mina a abordagem do cidadão-em-contexto e enfatiza em demasia a abordagem racional e linear da cidadania. Destaca-se nos dados, ainda, a falta de preparação de professores nesta área da educação, tanto na formação inicial como na formação contínua de professores. E os dados indiciam como o ensino da cidadania num tempo de diversidade, interseccionalidade e identidades múltiplas e fluidas coloca muitas questões, desafios e oportunidades para os educadores. Os resultados sugerem, ainda, uma falta de discurso coerente e consistente sobre cidadania, representado por persistentes injustiças estruturais e técnicas e por políticas e práticas educativas orientadas pela avaliação por testes, geralmente causando uma lacuna entre política e prática e ignorando a voz e a agência dos professores. As conclusões acima são um resumo de várias outras indicações e observações que foram abordadas e discutidas nos particulares contextos históricos e políticos de cada país.

Inspirado em estudos sobre formação de professores para a justiça social e educação para a cidadania democrática transformadora, o estudo propõe um quadro conceptual orientado para a justiça transformadora e social para que professores e formadores de professores abordem o ensino para a cidadania democrática como um empreendimento político que reconsidera e desafia mentalidades e práticas que se mostram injustas e limitadoras na sociedade plural de hoje. Este quadro conceptual também sugere que o ensino da educação para a cidadania é um empreendimento de aprendizagem que perspetiva os professores como aprendentes e investigadores ao longo da vida, cuja aprendizagem pode ser desenvolvida pela criação de espaços e oportunidades em comunidades de prática baseadas na investigação, nas quais identidades e disposições dos professores fazem parte integrante do processo de ensino e aprendizagem. Este quadro conceptual também reconhece e acolhe o complexo, imprevisível e arriscado esforço da educação.
Sendo professora antes de ser investigadora, a investigação que aqui se apresenta representa uma das muitas tentativas feitas pela investigação para enriquecer a área de formação de professores com perspetivas e discussões reflexivas que podem ser proveitosas para discussões e investigações atuais e futuras. O estudo visa adicionar novas investigações empíricas às já existentes sobre educação para a cidadania nos dois países (e noutros lugares), que estão a investir na promoção da educação para a cidadania e a trabalhar para desenvolver iniciativas que promovem a educação para a democracia.

Palavras-chave: educação para a cidadania, pedagogia crítica, aprendizagem transformadora, formação de professores, democracia

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Background

This research is conducted as part of the European Doctorate in teacher Education (EDiTE), a Marie Sklodowska-Curie Innovative Training Network that is supported by the European Union's Horizon 2020 programme, which is based on the collaboration of five partner European universities, namely the Eotvos Lorand University (ELTE) in Budapest, the University of Lower Silesia (ULS) in Poland, the University of Lisbon (ULisboa) in Portugal, the University of Innsbruck (UIBK) in Austria and the Masaryk University (MU) in the Czech Republic. In March 2016, fifteen early-stage researchers from eleven countries (Bhutan, Czech Republic, Ecuador, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Nepal, Poland, Serbia, Syria, and the USA) embarked on their research with a focus on the EDiTE programme's overarching theme of "*Transformative Teacher Learning for Better Student Learning in an Emerging European Context."*[1]

Drawing on the need to link educational research and practice, the programme was based on collaboration and partnership between different educational organizations and schools in the participating countries. Each researcher had the opportunity to undergo a mobility phase at a different university and to work thoroughly with supervisors and academics and collaborate with local schools and educational institutions.

EDiTE originated from a concern about the status of teacher education in Europe and the fragmented identity of teachers between subject-matter experts and professional pedagogues. Being part of a European network that reviewed these challenges, Michael Schratz from the University of Innsbruck took the initiative and applied for a Horizon 2020 project[2].

The EDiTE programme finds it imperative to situate research within an emerging context of "social disruptions" where schools' role exceeds the task of knowledge transmission to become "laboratories of an unknown future" where teachers need to "bring in their total human capacity into a dynamic process of responding to others" (Schratz & Symeonidis, 2018, p. 8). My own project has evolved within the EDiTE framework with a focus on the potential role of teachers as agents of change. My project problematizes the language and practice of learning and teaching in citizenship education, and sheds light on the potential of transformative teacher learning for the maintenance of a democratic and just society in an ever-changing society.

1.2. Research overview and problem statement

For the past few decades, there has been a worldwide interest in teaching about democracy and democratic citizenship. Schools and curricula around the world have attempted to strengthen the role of citizenship education by adopting several measures, such as introducing new subjects and incorporating citizenship topics as cross-curricula themes. The rise and re-emergence of challenges such as violent extremism, populism, as well as noticeable apathy among young people's political and civic engagement have alerted many policy makers worldwide to the need to provide a kind of education that is capable of safeguarding and

[1] http://www.edite.eu/

[2] https://soundcloud.com/uniinnsbruck/uni-konkret-edite

sustaining peace, plurality and democracy. Today, a large number of countries include citizenship education as a discrete part of the school curriculum (Schulz, Ainley, Fraillon, Kerr & Losito, 2010). Citizenship and democratic aims have also become central in school curricula, particularly the social studies curriculum (Fischman & Hass, 2014).

Citizenship education is a part of the national curricula for general education in all European countries and is delivered in schools through three main approaches: as an independent subject, integrated as part of another subject (mainly history), or as a cross-curricular issue (The EC/EACEA/Eurydice, 2017). Promoting the civic role of schools has been an objective of European cooperation, with social and civic competences being among the key competences put forward by the European Parliament and the Council of the European Union. Further, "promoting equity, social cohesion and active citizenship through school education is also one of the main objectives for the present decade in the context of the Strategic Framework for European Cooperation in Education and Training (ET 2020)" (The EC/EACEA/Eurydice, 2017, p. 2).

Education, particularly the provision of citizenship education, has been associated with building a democratic society and preparing democratic, active citizens (DeJaeghere, 2009). Various international and national public rhetoric and policy documents have advocated for citizenship education as the kind of education that would effectively sustain democracy and address societal challenges and produce democratic, responsible citizens. However, research has drawn attention to the complexities involved in the discourse, understanding and implementation of citizenship education by emphasizing that citizenship education remains a complex, contextual, contested and multi-dimensional issue (Lister, 1997; DeJaeghere, 2009; Carr, Pluim & Howard, 2014; Parker, 2017). Research has also shown a discrepancy between the official discourse on citizenship education and its role in addressing social issues and the reality of school curricula and teaching practices, which tend to treat issues of social justice, diversity and equality and fail to engage with issues of power (Westheimer & Kahn, 2004; Davies & Issitt, 2005; Bryan 2014). In the context of the European Union, governments, political leaders, and policy-makers acknowledge the need for active and informed citizens and highlight the key role of education and schooling in achieving that goal. However, when it comes to implementation, there is a lack of clarity and agreement concerning different issues. Gollob, Huddleston, Krapf, Salema & Spajic-Vrkaš (2007) shed light on the existing gap between what they call the "rhetoric of need for [Education for Democratic Citizenship] and what actually happens in practice" (p.10). Research has also indicated that prevalent approaches to citizenship education in schools are described as limited and exclusionary (DeJaeghere, 2009, Kymlica 2017), instrumental, and test-driven (Wilkins, 2018; Fischman & Hass; 2014; Biesta & Lawy, 2006) and tend to be nationally-oriented (Schulz et al., 2010).

1.3. Motivation and significance

Recognizing the role of the teacher for the implementation of educational reforms, worldwide efforts have been invested in teacher education reforms (Mifsud, 2018). The current discourse surrounding citizenship education is characterized by a lack of research on pedagogies and classroom practices in the area of citizenship education (Evans, 2006) and a particular lack on the teachers' perspectives and approaches to this area of education

(Zyngier, 2013; Willemse et al., 2015). This study is informed by the need to understand the perspectives and experiences of educators when teaching citizenship (Carr, 2007; 2011) and acknowledge the important role of teachers, recognizing that "what teachers know and do is one of the most important influences on what students learn" (Darling Hammond, 1998, p. 6). Realizing the key role of teachers, educational systems are acknowledging the need to prepare teachers for an effective provision of citizenship education. Zyngier (2013) argues that studying the experiences and perceptions of educators and the ways in which they understand democracy within their educational experience is key to achieving a more empowered and engaged citizenry that cultivates democratic ideals. Westheimer & Kahne (2004) maintain that defining the relation between education and democracy at the teacher's level is important, as it may have crucial implications for the delivery of teaching and learning that influences how students relate to, and do, democracy in and outside of school. This study, therefore, aims to critically understand the perspectives and experiences of educators in relation to democracy in education.

One problematic argument about citizenship education is viewing citizenship as an "outcome", or status that someone can have after successfully finishing a path (Biesta & Lawy, 2006). This assumption is linked to the overemphasis on the notion of rationality that characterizes most of citizenship education discourse and assumes that new students' identities will emerge after a guided pedagogical process (Fischman & Hass, 2014). This study proposes a dynamic and active and deep meaning of citizenship education which is beyond conventional evaluation processes. Dealing with a value-laden and contested area of education, the current research situates itself within a critical pedagogy framework that connects education, democracy and social justice (Freire, 1973; Westheimer & Kahn, 2004; Carr, 2011) and proposes a "thick" approach to understanding democracy that goes beyond voting. Teachers have the choice of promoting and doing thicker democracy that is reflective, critical, participatory, tolerant and non-hierarchical, or of opting a thinner, authoritarian democracy that is based on uncritical knowledge, standards and competencies that serve to measure of the "good" citizen (Zyngier, 2013). With that in mind, the current study attempts to go beyond conventional understandings of citizenship and to provide a framework for an active and reflective citizenship education that is key to education for social justice and human rights.

The study ventures into the realm of the contested and debatable area of research and attempts to gain insights in two European countries, namely Austria and Portugal, which have recently introduced curriculum reforms in a clear effort to further strengthen citizenship education. In Austria, citizenship education has been taught as a cross-curricula theme and an integrated subject along with history. However, a new curriculum of "History, Citizenship Education and Social Studies" with compulsory citizenship education modules was piloted for the academic year 2015/16. Similarly, this research coincided with major reforms on citizenship education in Portugal, with the launch of the Curricular of Autonomy and Flexibility (Autonomia e Flexibilidade Curricular) which encompassed the issue of The National Citizenship Education Strategy (ENEC) in 2017 and the introduction of a compulsory timeframe for citizenship in the 2nd and 3rd cycles of basic education. The two countries provided intriguing contexts of significant change and reform to citizenship

education to explore teachers' attitudes and practices with the EDiTE overarching theme in mind.

This research does not focus on the general effect of education but only on school-based initiatives or programmes that are aimed at developing citizenship at schools either through a subject or through cross-curricula themes, or through a whole school approach. The study analyses the teaching of citizenship education at schools in the context of contemporary prominent processes, including globalization, conflicts, immigration and the increasing diversity of students in the classroom, the dominance of the neoliberal rationale in educational policies and practices, the rise of nationalism and the worldwide discourse around the need for education to safeguard peace and democracy.

The study aims to provide some insights for teacher educators and policy makers involved in the area of preparing teachers to teach this area of education and also to add further empirical research to the existing research on citizenship education, namely to the area of pedagogy and teacher education, which are two areas that have been understudied in relation to citizenship education. Moreover, the study wants to provide research impetus to teachers, teacher educators, policy makers and researchers in the two countries (and in other places) who are investing in furthering citizenship education and working to develop initiatives to promote education for democracy.

1.4. Research aims and questions

The study explores teachers' conceptualizations and experiences of citizenship education in Austria and Portugal. The study aims to:

- explore ways in which teachers understand and practice citizenship education in Austria and Portugal

- identify the preferred goals the teachers try to achieve in their teaching for citizenship

- identify preferred practices by the teachers when teaching for citizenship

- identify any factors (personal, political, cultural) which restrain or help teachers to promote a thick approach to citizenship education

The study has developed in relation to the following two main questions:

1. How do teachers view teaching for democratic citizenship? What goals do they try to achieve in their classes when teaching for citizenship, and how?
2. How and to what extent do teachers promote critical approaches to citizenship education?

1.5. Organization and structure of the dissertation

After presenting the study's background, motivation, aims and focus in the first chapter above, the second chapter introduces key terms and provides an overview of the literature on citizenship education, including prominent debates and arguments. Chapter 3 will introduce the theoretical framework of the research by illuminating some underpinnings from a critical

pedagogy and a transformative learning perspectives. Chapter 4 will present the methodology employed in this study, including scientific grounding, choices and procedures of data collection and analysis as well as other methodological considerations and a brief overview of the current contexts. The following chapter (5) presents the research from Austria, including context overview with a focus on citizenship education and teacher education and the presentation of the findings. Chapter 6 will present the Portuguese context, with a focus on citizenship education and teacher education, and presentations of the findings. Final discussion and implications on teacher education will follow in chapter 7. Chapter 8 concludes the study with a summary, final reflections and considerations for future lines of research.

Chapter 2: Citizenship education: a review of debates and literature

Following the recommendation of McCrowan (2009) on what any work on citizenship education should tackle, this chapter will ensure to address the following key questions: What is citizenship? What is the aim of citizenship education? What is a good citizen (and the different debates surrounding this claim)? And does society need responsible and active citizens? The chapter then will present a recent reference framework of competences in relation to teaching for democracy, as an example of EU-level efforts to find a common ground and establish an overarching frame for member states to develop their curricula. Finally, the chapter will discuss some aspects of teacher education that are relevant to the current research.

2.1. What is citizenship?

Before further discussing citizenship education, it is central to, first of all, reflect on the notion of citizenship. Schnack (2000) notes that the civic task of education goes back to the Greek classical educators who called for the devolvement of meaningful involved citizenry to establish a democratic society. McCrowan (2009) explains the evolution of the term, which refers to the membership in a state or political unit. While *civis* in Latin means resident of a city and was originally associated with city-states. In later times, it became associated with belonging to a nation-state. This later meaning has two uses: one that refers to the possession of an official status as in the statement "he is a Spanish citizen" or "they have dual citizenships," which implies an educational requirement for citizenship in the form of tests that foreigners applying for citizenship status have to take. The second use is related to the fulfilling of those expectations associated with this kind of affiliation. A good citizen, according to this latter meaning, entails an active participation in the political life. In other words, citizenship education is "aiming to develop particular qualities in those who are already citizens in a legal sense" (McCrowan, 2009, p. 5). It is important to note that the previous quote is only provided to illustrate where the definition originally came from and should not confuse the reader that citizenship education only targets legal citizens of a particular nation. Although historically associated with the nation-states and construing a unified homogenous national community, and in spite of the fact that fostering a sense of belonging and constructing a national identity go hand in hand with citizenship education programmes, citizenship education and assimilationist and socialization discourses have been challenged in modern times to address multicultural classrooms and the emergence of new identity politics (Grelle & Metzger, 1996; Banks, 2017; Kymlica, 2017), which will be discussed later.

2.2. Citizenship education: a diversity of terms and denominations

According to the latest 2017 report on *Citizenship Education in Schools in Europe*, Citizenship education is understood as:

> [T]he subject area that is promoted in schools with the aim of fostering the harmonious co-existence and mutually beneficial development of individuals and of the communities they are part of. In democratic societies citizenship education supports students in becoming active, informed and responsible citizens, who are willing and able to take responsibility for themselves and for their communities at the

> local, regional, national and international level" (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2017. p. 9).

Citizenship education, to Howe & Covell (2005), involves:

> [A]ctive exercise of rights and social responsibilities; appreciation for the citizenship virtues and values of tolerance, civility, and critical democratic thinking; the recognition of differentiated citizenship; the identification with the global community as well as with a particular state […] and to foster as sense of genuine belonging among citizens and to encourage their active and meaningful participation in society (p. 57)

Differences prevail when looking at citizenship educational programs and initiative in terms of ideological orientations and contexts. In some contexts, citizenship education is viewed as a way to prepare young people to be engaged in their communities. It has also been considered as a way to educate the youth to respond to challenges such as racism, conflicts and intolerance. In an effort to maintain democracy, citizenship education is also considered an approach to promote democracy and engage the youth in democratic decisions such as elections.

Not all educational initiatives that are aimed at promoting democratic citizenship share the same name. Different terms have been used in different contexts and for different aims. Terms such as civic(s) education, political education, democratic education, development education, global education, values education, character education, moral education, human rights education, etc. have been widely used in educational discourses to refer to similar educational approaches. The most commonly used term in official European discourses is "education for democratic citizenship" (EDC), which is being used in the context of the Council of Europe. Other frequently used terms are "citizenship education", "democracy learning", and, more often in the English-speaking countries, "civic (or citizenship) education", "citizenship learning" or "education for democracy" (Duerr, 2010).

There are no clear conceptual distinctions between the terms and the use of the same term does not always correspond to another one used in a different context. The term "civic education", for example, is widely used in the US, interchangeably with "citizenship education." However, in both of the countries involved in this research, what translates as "civics education" is largely associated with the nation-building discourse and is considered as a less favourable approach to teaching democracy. A similar distinction is made by Olser and Starkey (2005) between civic education and citizenship education with the latter being more favoured as it entails going further to include human rights and sustainability. Hess (2009) differentiates between "civic education", which, to her, implies "'fitting in' to society as it currently operates" and "democratic education" which "highlights the dynamic and contested dimensions inherent in a democracy" (p. 14).

Duerr (2010) maintains that there is a general lack of terminological agreement on what citizenship education is and that "no country will be able to claim having developed a generally valid definition" (p. 36). Figure (1) illustrates the diversity of the terms used with a focus on the European context. Duerr (2010) argues that in Europe, and within the effort of

some pan-European projects to establish a "European citizenship education," this diversity of terms has created some problems and confusion. For example, the term "politische Bildung" which is the one used in the German-speaking contexts and which literally translates into "political education" may have a negative connotation in countries such as Eastern European countries, where the adjective "political" will automatically entail "indoctrination" (Duerr, 2010, p. 36).

Reflecting on the terms used in my first language, a prevalence of the term *madania* in some Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region countries has recently caught my attention. The closest translation of this term would be "civics" since *madina* in Arabic means city and *madania* means city-dwelling or city-states, which was the original Greek reference of the term. A regular term used in that region is *watania* or *muatana* which is derived from *watan* (nation). Although originally used in a post-colonial framework to emphasize independence and national unity, it was later, and still is, used by dictatorial regimes to maintain compliance and indoctrination. Taking into account the Arab Spring and the succeeding and the constant political unrest against oppressive regimes, I speculate that the use of the term *madania* in some countries could be done in way to convey a more neutral, appeasing, positive and safe meaning with less political implications.

Figure (1): Different terms of Citizenship Education

Source: Duerr (2010, p. 37)

Citizenship education has also been used with several preceding adjectives. "Global" has been used to give citizenship education a cosmopolitan dimension. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) defines global citizenship education (GCE) as "a framing paradigm which encapsulates how education can develop the knowledge, skills, values and attitudes learners need for securing a world which is more just, peaceful, tolerant, inclusive, secure and sustainable" (UNESCO, 2014, p. 9). In other cases, the preceding adjectives "active" and/or "critical" are used to emphasize a transformative and

non-conventional and engaged approach to this area of education. “Intercultural” has also been used to emphasize the inclusiveness of the term. From the above, and as illustrated in figure (1), it seems that there is a lack of agreement and coherence when it comes to naming this area of education. Bryan (2014) has noted the confusion of having different terms to refer to similar themes and pedagogies. The term “development education”, for example, has been proposed as an umbrella term for a range of educations, such as “human rights education”, “multicultural education”, or “global education”, but that initiative has also been faced with disagreement.

Carr and colleagues (2014) provide a comparative overview of research on citizenship education perspectives. As represented in table (1), which has been adapted to include the authors in this study, different approaches are presented. On the one hand “mainstream perspectives” focus on “participation in established structures and charitable interventions to regulate social inequalities,” while on the other hand a critical approach “analyzes, questions, and disrupts social structures to address social inequities through political literacy, transformative education and social justice” (p. 7).

Table (1): ontological framing of societal perspectives

Overall perspective	*Mainstream view*	*Critical view*	*Key authors*
Global Citizenship	*Soft*	*Critical*	*Andreotti (2006)*
International and development education	*Minimal*	*Maximal*	*DeJaeghere (2009); Davies and Issitt (2005); Bryan (2014)*
Education for democratic citizenship	*Participation in society*	*Pursuit of justice*	*Westheimer and Kahne (2004)*
Education for democracy	*Thin*	*Thick*	*Carr (2008, 2011)*

Source: adopted from Carr, et al. (2014, p.7).

In this study, I will mainly use the term “citizenship education” to refer to any educational initiatives or programmes aiming to promote the cultivation of democratic citizens in the formal school setting. When relevant, I will be using preceding adjectives such as “active”, “transformative”, “thick” and “critical”, which are in line with the research framework and aim of this study. Other terms will be used when directly or indirectly citing others’ works that use different terms.

This section has illustrated the terminological diversity in this area and the complexity of finding a common and clear definition on what citizenship education really means. However, it is important to note that what matters in this research or any research on citizenship education is not an abstract definition of citizenship education but rather an engagement with multiple dynamic meanings that arise within a given context. This research is focused on studying the meanings given to citizenship education by looking at certain initiatives situated

within certain geo-political, social and historical contexts with the aim of revealing the implications of such a fluid area of education.

Since most of citizenship education programmes have been integrated with social studies or taught by social studies teachers, as is the case in the two countries looked at in the study, it is important to define and discuss citizenship education within the framework of social studies, as illustrated in the following section.

2.3. Citizenship education and social studies

Since the subjects which incorporate aspects of citizenship education are mostly social studies, history, geography, languages, political education, and ethics/religious education, and since the content of social studies curriculum is the most inclusive of all school subjects (Ross, 2006, p.17), a discussion of social studies is very relevant here. Social studies are often "the curriculum area where democratic, global, and multicultural education are included in the curriculum" (Camicia & Zhu, 2012, p. 2). Ross (2006) explains that social studies are "the preparation of young people so that they possess the knowledge, skills and values necessary for active participation in society" (p. 18). All of these areas touch closely on issues related to values and the social composition of a society, which has made the area highly contested and debatable. Ross (2006) discusses the dynamic nature of social studies and the debates surrounding its disputed aspects, which continue to be a hotspot in what she calls the "culture wars". Yet, and ironically, she also explains how the disagreements that have characterised the nature and the purpose of the social studies curriculum since its very beginning have also led to a revitalization of the field.

Educating for citizenship was first addressed through social studies and history curricula, which introduced students to social values and political knowledge that were in line with national interest. Although the origin and nature of citizenship education varies across cultural contexts, in many countries nowadays students continue to learn about citizenship through courses including history, social studies, religious and moral education, as well as government (Schulz et al., 2010).

In the literature, the terms "social studies" and "civic/citizenship education" have frequently been used interchangeably. The definition of social studies below (by the United States' National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) highlights the orientation of the field toward civic purposes:

> The integrated study of the social sciences and humanities to promote civic competence. The primary purpose of social studies is to help young people make informed and reasoned decisions for the public good as citizens of a culturally diverse, democratic society and interdependent world (1994, p. 3 cited in Lintner & MacPhee, 2012, p. 260).

Social studies aim "to develop the ability to argue, evaluate and form rational and reasonable opinions, as well as to understand and accept, but also to subject norms to critical examination" (Pingel, 2010, p. 8). However, research shows that in most countries the status of social studies in schools, particularly history, does not match the aims and disciplinary nature of what counts as social studies. Social studies often involve nationalistic narratives,

one single narrative with no space for multiperspectivity, or they are geared toward a specific political agenda. For example, the traditional objective of history teaching as a means of constructing national identity is still the most prominent objective today (Foster, 2012; Lopez & Carretero, 2012). Ross (2006) presents three main purposes of social studies in schools agreed upon by several researchers: 1) socialization into society's norms; 2) transmission of facts, concepts and generalizations from the academic disciplines; and 3) the promotion of critical and reflective thinking. She maintains that the dominant approach practiced worldwide is the transmission of facts and values. Besides the above, social studies have been marginalized at the expense of other subjects that are important to examinations, a consequence of the marketization of education, which favors some "useful" subjects over others (Carr & Thésée, 2017). The debate that has characterized social studies focuses on the argument of whether we teach social studies for socialization (indoctrination) purposes or emancipation. In the following, Slater (1995) poses important questions about the aim of teaching social studies:

> Do history, geography and social studies textbooks seek only to reflect society, or to change it? Do they seek to guarantee certain attitudes and values? Or do they more modestly seek to enable young people, with a foundation of knowledge, skills and insights, to make their own independent choices between alternative attitudes and values? (p. 185).

The question of History is of particular interest to the current research as, in many countries, citizenship education is taught as an integrated subject with history and oftentimes it is the history teacher who ends up teaching a citizenship class. History is an essential public issue in many countries across the globe. War, war memorials, museums, and the commemoration of historical figures are central to the collective memory of a community and the construction of personal and national identities of individuals. Named as the most conservative area of education (Cole, 2007), history education has the potential to serve as "the principal means to influence, if not control, how children understand their nation's past" (Foster. 2012, p. 51).

In this globalized, multicultural and interdependent world that is facing urgent challenges, it will be argued here, it is vital that teachers provide a deeper understanding of the interpretive and contested nature of social studies. Critical approaches to social studies and the way history and geography are taught can help citizens develop the tolerance for complexity and ambiguity necessary for citizenship education.

2.4. The aim of citizenship education

The widespread argument is that the current deteriorating status of democracy necessitates a kind of education that encourages political empowerment capable of establishing or maintaining a democratic order. While the meaning of democracy (ruling of the people) may sound clear, many interpretations of democracy have been suggested, implying different understandings of what ruling means and what 'the people' include. (McCowan, 2009). For example, women and slaves were not a part of 'the people' when this term was first used. While in emerging democracies the focus has been on how education can establish democracy, in many well-established democracies the question has been about how to maintain it (Biesta & Lawy, 2006). Assuming "a minimalist understanding of democracy" in

the way that "democratic politics entail a rule of law, promotion of civil and political liberties, free and fair elections of lawmakers" (Young, 2000, p. 5), democracy seems to be the preferred and sought-after form of governance. However, while the majority of world states declare themselves as democratic, the world is far from being democratic (McCrowan, 2009) or is only "thinly democratic" (Young, 2000, p. 5). In many parts of the world, people still have little political participation and certain groups, such as indigenous peoples, people with disability, women, and those with limited literacy skills, are sometimes excluded from political participation. The situation in the so-called 'developing world' is worse as poor people are subject to economic exploitation of corporations (McCrowan, 2009).

Another perspective that contemplates on the relation between democracy and education distinguishes between *education for democracy* and *education through democracy* (Biesta, 2006). Education for democracy involves preparing children to participate in a democratic society by teaching about democratic institutions and the constitution and providing them with skills and attitudes such as practicing and appreciating freedom of speech and decision making. Teaching through democracy involves having children experience democracy by having them live and participate in a school environment that is based on democratic relations and processes. This also includes having a democratic curriculum. Ross (2012) considers curriculum standards as "anti-democratic" when they restrict "the legitimate role of teachers and other educational professionals, as well as members of the public, from participating in the conversation about the origin, nature, ethics of knowledge that is part of the enacted curriculum" (p. xi). It could be argued that teaching though democracy could be traced back to many educational theorists that have promoted learning as participation (Dewey, 1916; Wenger, 1998). In these situations, learning is assumed to be social and situated; often occurring in informal contexts such as communities through interaction, communication, taking part, and gaining access to different contexts.

Citizenship education is upheld as the kind of education that can tackle societal problems and ensure the building of a secure and democratic world for all. It has become one of the central aims of public schools generally and the social studies curriculum in particular (Fischman & Hass, 2014) and "[one] has a hard time finding a state or school district curriculum document that does not trumpet 'the preparation of students for informed citizenship in our democratic society,' or something to this effect" (p. 106). Kerr (1999) speaks of citizenship education in terms of three major interrelated strands, represented in social and moral responsibility, community involvement, and political literacy. Political literacy, he argues, involves students' "learning about and how to make themselves effective in public life through knowledge, skills and values." As for "public life" it expands "to encompass realistic knowledge of and preparation for conflict resolution and decision-making, whether involving issues at the levels of local, regional, national, European or international affairs (p. 280).

An increasing interest in citizenship education provision has been triggered by concerns over declining levels of youth engagement, which have caused an extensive attention to "identifying, rectifying or explaining youth disengagement from politics" (Harris, Wyn & Younes, 2010, p.11). Harris et al. (2010) provide some reasons for youth disengagement, represented by the "individualization within education", "weaker mechanisms of political socialization, and how job insecurity and neo-liberal ideology alienate young people from the political system", new ways of youth identification that are "less fixed, long term and

singular as they grapple with the individualization of the life course", and a lack of trust in politicians and the way a political discourse refer to young people as "inadequate citizens" or citizen in the making by enforcing citizenship education provision (p. 12). One issue with setting aims for any educational strategy, including the teaching of citizenship in that there is no guarantee that what young people learn is equal to what is being taught (Biesta & Lawy, 2006), which brings about the discussion of how assessment in citizenship education take place. One common way to deliver citizenship in schools is through ensuring the provision of certain knowledge, skills and values, as well as other elements depending on the context.

2. 4. 1. Knowledge, skills and values

Although the focus of this research is on teachers, it is unavoidable to speak about what citizenship education is attempting to achieve in the student in order to examine the way teachers approach teaching for citizenship in schools. Generally speaking, citizenship education aims at developing certain attributes or competences in the learners in a way that attempts to bring changes to the individual and the society. The three common elements that are associated with citizenship education teaching and learning that exist in the literature are: knowledge, skills and values. The term "values" is sometimes substituted by "attitudes" or "dispositions". A fourth element "behaviours" is also sometimes added. Some approaches differentiate between values and dispositions, with the latter being the hardest to achieve (McCrowan, 2009). According to the Council of Europe (2016), a competence is understood as "the ability to mobilise and deploy relevant values, attitudes, skills, knowledge and/or understanding in order to respond appropriately and effectively to the demands, challenges and opportunities that are presented by a given type of context" (p. 23). Within the European Commission competence framework, "dispositions" is an encompassing term that includes motivation, beliefs, value orientations and emotions (European Commission, 2013). In this research, I refer to three elements, namely knowledge, skills and values. To ensure conciseness, I use "values" interchangeably with "dispositions", although aware that these terms could be interpreted differently.

There is a unanimous agreement among all citizenship education researchers that citizenship education is not about just acquiring knowledge and facts about the laws, institutions and processes of political life, but that it also it involves obtaining democratic skills, attitudes and dispositions, as well as behaviours. Traditionally, passing on knowledge about the government institutions and national history was the focus of citizenship education programmes. The general educational shift from knowledge to skills had an impact on citizenship education. The increasing interest of citizenship education in the 1990s was mainly due to concerns about high levels of apathy, lack of political participation and distrust of political institutions. The 1970s political literacy movement in the UK led by Bernard Crick and others represents an example of that shift which called for the focus on political skills and democratic values instead of learning about government institutions (McCowan, 2009).

Being the most controversial element of citizenship education, and education and schooling in general, "values" occupy a central role in the discussion of the aims of citizenship education. Schools historically have played a role in the provision of values through explicit as well as hidden curricula in the way "many social, moral, and political messages are

transmitted through what is taught, how teachers behave, and how the school is organized and run" (Howe & Covell, 2005, pp. 84-85.). In the context of the United States, for example, the explicit teaching of values has been given considerable emphasis since the 1960s through character or moral education, based on the belief that values monitor behaviour and will result in "socially responsible behaviours" (Howe & Covell, 2005, p. 85). One approach to developing values was that of value clarification (originally introduced by Raths, Harmin & Simon, 1966) which was based on the individualistic movement that was common in the 1960s. Students were provided with moral dilemmas to examine their own values. The approach was based on avoiding any imposition of certain values, to the extent of promoting a total moral relativism, where any and all values were equally accepted. One way to call that approach is value-free teaching of values. Howe & Covell (2005) explain how this approach poses problems and is disapproved by many teachers who see that it is important that "[c]onsiderations of what is right and accepted, of what is needed to sustain human rights and democracy, must be grounded in principles" (p. 115). In the context of Europe, Values and Knowledge Education (VaKE)[3] method has been adopted by citizenship educational initiatives particularly in a diverse setting when value conflicts are expected. VaKE is a constructivist instructional concept developed at the University of Salzburg to help teachers address values conflict and moral issues. Students are presented with dilemma stories and they are given the autonomy to construct their own knowledge themselves. A dilemma is not supposed to imply wrong or right answers but only different values. Weinberger, Patry & Weyringer (2016) propose this method in their argument that teacher education should embrace moral goals which can facilitate and help teachers to deal with value conflicts in their classrooms. While such a method proves fruitful and positive in cross-cultural communication and dialogue, and while there is no claim that this method is similar to the value clarification approach, it could entail similar concerns regarding whose values and to what extent?

At the other end of the spectrum, there is the example of what is called character education which was based on instilling certain values in school children through literature and several school activities. Kohn (1997) highlights the indoctrination implied in this approach as follows: "Exhorting students to be 'respectful' or rewarding them if they are caught 'good' may likewise mean nothing more than getting them to do whatever the adults demand." (p. 5) He saw the problem of rewarding "the most virtuous" and maintained that the important terms that character education enforce such as respect, responsibility and citizenship are all "slippery terms, frequently used as euphemisms for uncritical defence to authority" (p. 5). An important note to make here is that some countries have character education in line with citizenship education goals and practices and not necessarily the above mentioned description of what character education is about. Historical and language-related issues play a role here.

Relevant here is Sundström & Fernández's (2013) discussion of liberals' perception of neutrality on what and how to teach citizenship. While some liberals resist indoctrination and insist on providing students with complete autonomy to form their own beliefs and opinions independently, others (often associated with the thought of Rawls, 1971) argue "that neutral

[3] http://www.vake.eu/

schooling is both impossible and misleading" and that "particularistic norms and belief systems" are needed (p. 108).

According to McCowan (2009), one crucial concern with values, being the most important yet the most challenging aspect of citizenship education, is the extent to and the way in which they are adopted by individuals. Students, for example, can be encouraged or directed to adopt virtues by means of encouragement, or following the example of the teacher in their actions, and/or through reflection when students can develop their own understanding of values. However, no matter which of the above methods is used, the process is still problematic. McCowan (2009) notes that although reflection might be a preferred approach to develop agency and criticality in learners, the process remains unpredictable. The whole approach to values raises one fundamental question on the problematic nature of citizenship education, that is: indoctrination and imposing values on students or encouraging them to absorb values, which is against the respect for agency and autonomy of the learner.

Some key problematic questions that have to be addressed are: *Which values? Whose values?* One important factor to consider in this discussion is the context since signifying the achievement of certain civic traits or values that often define being a "good" citizen depends on the norms of different contexts (Carr, Pluim & Howard, 2014). This contested and normative nature of citizenship could imply that "one person's 'good citizenship' may be diametrically opposed to another's" (McCrowan, 2009, p. 5). While achieving or maintaining democracy is one concern for the provision of citizenship education in school, it is important to note that this has not always been the case. Historically, dictatorial and authoritarian regimes have also invested in a type of citizenship education to mobilize and socialize the population into certain ideologies. This poses questions about what defines or describes a "good" citizen in a dictatorship or an oppressive system. Scharer (2015) contemplates this question and brings the example of Franz Jägerstätter[4], who refused to join the military during the Nazi regime and was executed for his failing to act as expected from a citizen. His actions were then blamed by his countrymen. Years later, he was honoured as a martyr (Zucconi, 2011, as cited by Scharer, 2015).

Such questions also bring to mind a concern that George S. Count (1962) voiced about the role of education almost half a century ago, which is still and forever relevant to this discussion:

> We must abandon completely the naive faith that education automatically liberates the mind and serves the cause of human progress; in fact, we know it may serve any cause. It may serve tyranny as well as freedom, ignorance as well as enlightenment, falsehood as well as truth. It may lead men and women to think they are free even as it rivets them in chains of bondage. […]. In the course of history, education has served every purpose and doctrine contrived by man; if it is to serve the cause of human freedom, it must be explicitly designed for that purpose (p. 54, cited in Purple & McLaurin, 2004, p. 9).

[4] His life story has been recently featured in a movie called *A Hidden Life*.

Once more, this study cannot turn a blind eye on the term "human freedom" in the above quotation, which no matter how self-evident it may seem is still ridden with values and is highly contested. *Does that mean there is no way out?*

One way to understand the goal of citizenship education is to look at the different ideological orientations involved in the field. While the scope of this research does not allow for extensive discussion of political governance theories, one common distinction between liberal and civic republican approaches to citizenship education is one example that is prevalent in the literature and relevant to the current study. The liberal approach focuses on the rights that the states should provide for the individual, which are divided into civil (the right to have a trial), political (the right to vote), and social rights (welfare and education). The civic republican approach draws on the model of the ancient Greek, which emphasizes the duties of citizens toward the state (McCrowan, 2009). The two approaches, however, remain diverse and have evolved to include different orientations and are not to be seen as static or homogenous.
To further elaborate on this distinction as well as other orientations and perspectives concerning the teaching of citizenship, the following section will present a listing of debates that characterize the discourse on citizenship education and which are relevant to the focus of the current study.

2.5. Teaching citizenship education: prominent perspective and debates

Contemporary debates about citizenship are not just about who is and is not a citizen but rather they ask: "is citizenship a status or a practice? Does citizenship liberate or control populations? Is citizenship only national or could it also be cosmopolitan and transnational" (Fischman & Haas, 2012, p. 171). Based on extensive literature review and taking the research questions into consideration, the following section provides a listing of the debates, concerns, arguments, controversies that describe citizenship education. For organization and clarity reasons, I have divided them into categories, which are closely interrelated and are by no means mutually exclusive. For example, there is so much that the discussion on nationalism and cosmopolitanism and the notion of criticality vs. conformity share in common, which in turn has so much in common with indoctrination and emancipation argument and so on.

Rights and duties:

In this section, I want to discuss the example of the liberal-civic republican divide, which can provide insights on a continuum of perspectives when it comes to teaching citizenship. One major difference between them concerns political participation. While political participation is seen as an optional non-privileged act in a liberal democracy, where the state respects "diverse conceptions of the good life, and should not compel people to adopt a conception of the good life which privileges political participation as the source of meaning or satisfaction (Kymplica, 1997, p.7), civic republicans, on the other hand, consider that it is essential that people actively participate in politics and civic society. The divide, however, is complex and multidimensional. One aspect of this complexity, according to McCrowan (2009), lies in the understanding of the meaning of "right" and the misconception that rights and duties function independently. Adopting a human rights approach, for example, involves commitment to global justice and the need for structural change and this can be viewed as a responsibility.

Kymplica (1997) explains that while others may brand the liberal position as lack of participation, it should be considered within a just democracy which "requires that everyone have the opportunity to become active citizens, if they so choose, which means eliminating any economic or social barriers to the participation of disadvantaged groups, such as women, the poor, racial and ethnic minorities" (p. 5). McCrowan (2009) also maintains that this argument must take into consideration *which* rights and duties. For example, British citizens in the 19th century had political and civil rights but little social welfare due to a free market system. On the other hand, citizens of the Soviet Union enjoyed social rights but very few civil and political rights and were expected to show a high commitment to the state.

McCowan (2009) sees that views on citizenship have been historically in favor of duties more than rights. This approach was evident in the 1937 publication *Experiments in Practical Training for Citizenship* in England, which aimed to prepare good loyal children that served their community. Normally associated with the political right, that emphasizes social cohesion, patriotism and assimilation of minorities, the civic republican model has been visible recently in the light of nationalist movements and fear of immigration. On the other hand, views of citizenship education focusing on rights, with the human rights approach being the most desirable approach, are also prevalent. Human rights, according to some researchers (Osler & Starkey, 2005; Banks et al., 2005), should be the foundation of citizenship education and should include marginalized groups, locally and globally.

Inclusion, exclusion, unity and diversity and the universal and the particular:

In today's globalized world, environmental, cultural, technological and economic influences

> [N]either respect borders nor require entry visas […and] the erosion of the once unquestionable principle of national sovereignty is rooted in the daily manifestations of global interdependence. While some national borders are more porous than others, no country any longer is or can be an island sufficient unto itself (Weiss, 2013, p. 11).

As most of world societies are becoming more diverse and multicultural, challenges arise regarding how to define and implement citizenship education, including intercultural and ethnic tensions, ideological conflicts, exclusion and marginalization (Banks et al. 2005; DeJaeghere, 2009). Banks (2017) argues how the "global migration, the rise of populist nationalism, and the quest by diverse racial, ethnic, cultural, linguistic, and religious groups for recognition, civic equality, and structural inclusion within their nation-states have complicated the attainment of citizenship in countries around the world" (p. 366). One issue with approaching diversity in educational policies and practices is the possibility of the "(ab)normalisation of diversity" (Bryan, 2008, p. 51). Using a discourse analysis of national policy documents, textbooks and classroom materials in Ireland, Bryan (2008) draws attention to "the abnormalising logic of intercultural discourse in recently produced anti-racism policy and curricular materials" (p. 52), noting that while the discourse welcomes cultural diversity, it also implies that diversity is changing the norm of societies, which is being homogeneity.

Several researchers (DeJaeghere, 2009, Kymlica 2017) argue that the notion of citizenship itself tends to be exclusionary. Kymlicka (2017) explains how citizenship education depends on the attainment of migrants of the legal citizenship status, which grants them rights of membership and belonging to "the people" in whose name the state governs. This poses the challenge since "conceptions of 'the people' have historically been tied to exclusionary and homogenizing narratives of nationhood, privileging majority ways of belonging while denigrating or rendering invisible minority identities and contributions" (p. xix). To Gaudelli (2016), a challenge persists in joining two seemingly opposing discourses:

> The dilemma that inheres in [human rights education] and citizenship education involves coupling a transcendent idea such as human rights with the deep-rooted resonance of concepts of citizenship. Part of this tension lies in affiliation, or how one comes to be identified as part of a group, or one's status as belonging to a group. Human rights necessarily assumes an affiliation that is as broad as could possibly be imagined, reaching out to every person. Citizenship, however, connotes belonging that tends toward exclusion rather than inclusion, or matters of who is one of us (p. 63).

Ramos (2010) also highlights the meaning of exclusion implied in the notion of citizenship and suggests a broader concept of citizenship that is "understood as personal, inclusive, intercultural and multiple" (p. 96). The challenge for schools and teachers here is clear. DeJaeghere (2009) provides an overview of studies that suggest "that what teachers do in schools with regard to how they teach diverse students is important for civic engagement" (p. 224). Banks (2017) speaks of a "failed citizenship" among marginalized groups in schools when they are denied many of the rights of full citizenship and develop complex identities and ambivalent attachments to the nation-state. Banks (2017) puts forward the notion of structural inclusion when it comes to discussing citizenship education. Structural inclusion is defined as a "set of attitudes and beliefs among students that are characterized by a feeling of political efficacy, political empowerment, and a belief that they can influence political and economic decisions that affect their lives by participating in the political system of their nation […]. People who are not politically structurally included within the political and cultural systems of their nation-state are politically alienated, lack political efficacy and participate at low level" (p. x).

It is almost impossible to discard universality since citizenship entails common attributes that are shared among citizens. The extent of that sameness, however, remains debatable (McCowan, 2009). The universalist approach to citizenship education has been criticized by those who claim that formal equality can mask discrimination and exclusion in practice. Immigration and increasing diversity of societies have demanded the discussion of issues of differences, identity and common values in citizenship education. On the other hand, views of citizenship that avoid suppressing difference risk being problematic in case the traditional culture in question has oppressive rituals against women or minorities, for example.
This debate can also find resonance in the diversity-unity argument and how multicultural societies, although acknowledge and legitimatize diversity, are also concerned about issues of social cohesion and common values to sustain unity (Banks et al., 2005; Banks, 2017). Banks et al. (2005) argue for the need to carefully address issues of unity, which refers to the

"common bonds that are essential to the functioning of the nation-state" and diversity which "refers to the internal differences within all nation-states that reflect variations in factors such as race, class, ethnicity, religion, language, gender, disability, and sexual orientation" (p. 11). Discussing Europe's increasing cultural diversity, Zembylas & Bosalek (2011) draw attention to a prevailing debate that "the challenge to all multicultural societies is to recognize diversity and yet at the same time promote social cohesion. However, there are divergent views on how far one can go to recognize diversity, while maintaining social cohesion (p. 13). While discourses on multiculturalism and intercultural education have been in circulation since the 1970s, "the notion of 'intercultural dialogue' is a fairly recent concept in discussions of international relations" with a recent increase of studies and national and international discussions (Zembylas & Bosalek, 2011, p. 14). Many national and EU documents acknowledge diversity and encourage intercultural dialogue. One important example is the White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue (WPID) by the Council of Europe (2008) which provided directions to enhance intercultural dialogue in Europe. Intercultural dialogue is defined by WPID the as:

> [A] process that comprises an open and respectful exchange of views between individuals and groups with different ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic backgrounds and heritage, on the basis of mutual understanding and respect. It requires the freedom and ability to express oneself, as well as the willingness and capacity to listen to the views of others. Intercultural dialogue contributes to political, social, cultural and economic integration and the cohesion of culturally diverse societies. It fosters equality, human dignity and a sense of common purpose. It aims to develop a deeper understanding of diverse world views and practices, to increase co-operation and participation (or the freedom to make choices), to allow personal growth and transformation, and to promote tolerance and respect for the other (Council of Europe, 2008, p. 17).

Zembylas & Bosalek (2011) argue how WPID, based on a human rights view which provides universal and generalized principles to all people, provides a "'sanitized' view of the diverse groups [...] with little reference to the particular or "the historical and current conditions in which marginalized groups find themselves in twenty-first-century Europe" (p. 18). While the WPID does acknowledge structural issues, they are not thoroughly discussed. They argue that dialogue is seen as a way to prevent divisions, although these same divisions are "everyday realities linked to some groups' privileges" (p.18).
This research emphasizes that the issue of universality and difference is not simple and it involves the questions of the public vs. private, individual vs. group rights and other issues and tensions that are never resolved.

Criticality vs. conformity
One prominent concern in citizenship education is the question of whether the aim is to produce a unified and stable society with loyal citizens conforming to the laws, or to create an active and critical (and potentially unstable) society whose citizens always challenge the authority? It may appear that advocating for critical citizenship education might contradict the aim of cultivating a good loyal law-abiding citizen. While some researchers (Kymplica, 1997) is satisfied with an uncluttered approach to citizenship in a democracy where citizens

conform to the upheld democratic norms and equal opportunities, other researchers emphasized the need for critical citizenship education (DeJaeghere, 2009), critical disruption and constant interrogating of democratic systems (Biesta & Lawy, 2006; Carr, 2008b; Ruitenberg, 2015).

Verducci (2008), on the other hand, discusses citizenship education in relation to a "space where opposites collide" between connecting (unity) and disconnection (disunity), which are both seen as productive to help promote a good moral citizen. "Democratization, or the education of citizens, takes place in these moments when opposites collide" (p. 3). In her opinion, therefore, citizenship education is about cultivating both a loyal citizen who connects with his/her country and disconnect by questioning the authority and disobeying the laws when needed. However, it is important to note that Verducci's important collision of opposites in teaching for democratic citizenship is not to be understood as something that inhibits moral citizens the same way it does in opportunistic politicians. The author explains that the opposites contained in moral citizens are not:

> held in reserve and served up individually when ambitions or some external constituency requires satisfaction; nor are they 'played' to position one' self. Instead, [they] are in continual, dynamic and productive conversation with each other. It is their collision that allows for the perception of problems with our democratic order […] and help us determine and enact courses of action and consider their consequences in complex and nuanced ways. A moral citizen, therefore, "must be able to embody the ability to connect and disconnect, to be patriotic and sceptical, to seek revolution and stability, to negotiate hate with love, and to consolidate and expand moral identity (p. 5).

For Glass (2008), cultivating democratic citizens means creating citizens who are both for and against the state and its institutions and who are able to engage in moral and political conflict:

> Public schools (as the institution charged with the forming of citizens of the state) must build loyalty both *for and against* the state and the institutions of the society. School must build the capacity for moral and political conflict into the very nature of citizenship (p. 27).

Sundström & Fernández (2013) argue that a Platonian perspective of citizenship represents an extreme, yet still relevant case of investigating the relation between citizenship education and the state. Plato's theory is based on the need "to provide the state with good citizens" by isolating them from their families and communities because "[o]nly when the pupils' familial ties and loyalties have been severed can they become true servants of the state" (p. 104). These researchers maintain that other identities of Plato's citizens are erased to serve the state. In modern liberal democracies, which claim to acknowledge diversity and autonomy and rejects indoctrination, a "tension is prevalent and constantly debated" between membership to the state and other allegiances and identities (p. 104).

Nationalism and cosmopolitanism

Traditionally, civic education is mainly geared toward nationalistic aims. Nation-states have employed various ways in education and schooling to achieve nationalistic agendas

(Anderson, 1991; Green, 1995; McCrowan, 2009). Banks (2017) notes that although ethnic revitalization movements of the 1960s and 70s started to introduce some changes and that nationalistic goals proved outdated within a context of global immigration and multiple identities and commitments, nationalism is still present and strong and it is in constant tension with globalization. This has entailed the development of patriotic and positive feelings and attitudes toward national rituals, figures, history, values, etc. This has often, and in many contexts around the world, automatically entailed the development of negative attitudes toward otherness, including other countries, people, races, ideologies and beliefs.

The issue of national identity and citizenship education has its roots not just in the ongoing debate in educational and political philosophy but also in empirical findings. For example, the International Civic and Citizenship Education Study's (ICCS)[5] report on initial findings states that all ICCS countries view civic and citizenship education as tied up with "the notion of developing positive attitudes toward national identity" (Schulz et al., 2010, p. 24). The discussion here is not to undermine the notion of national belongings, which in its positive and mild forms can be a constructive and healthy social force (Smith, 1997), but it highlights a very important issue in education in relation to the construction of national identity and the need to consider the limitations and potential dangers to approaching national identities as essentialist and static. Although sometimes nationalism is differentiated from patriotism (with the latter normally holding a more positive connotation), I will be using both terms interchangeably. Smith (1997) defines nationalism as "an ideological movement for attaining and maintaining autonomy, unity, and identity on behalf of a population deemed by some of its members to constitute an actual or potential 'nation'" (p. 73).

The inadequacies of the nationally-bound citizenship education programmes in an increasingly globalised world and mobile population have led to calls for new forms and approaches to citizenship education. Banks et al. (2005) explain how patriotism can have negative effects on citizenship education:

> "In the name of patriotism, intolerance toward dissent has been propagated, freedom of speech restricted, and an arbitrary consensus imposed. The accusation of 'unpatriotic behavior' can intimidate teachers and students into self-censorship. They may bow to conformist pressure that emanates from powerful media, clergy, and the government as to what is legitimate and what is out of bounds." (p. 23)

Although the notion of a unified nation-state has been disrupted by the rising migration as well as the political, technological and economic developments since late 20th century, it is undeniable that nationalist sentiments and interests continue to shape politics, education and many other aspects of life in Europe and other places. The research argues that the nationalist discourse in citizenship education proves inadequate in the light of a highly interdependent world, which has prompted calls to consider the way citizenship is addressed. Howe & Covell (2005) maintain that citizenship education needs to be "understood more broadly

[5] ICCS is a project of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA), an international organization which has conducted international comparative studies on educational achievement (Schulz et al., 2010).

where people are citizens not only of nation-states but also larger regions (e.g. the European Union) and the wider global order" (p. 55). Banks et al. (2005) advocate for a "critical patriotism" approach, which encourages "reasoned loyalty […] along a commitment to correct its 'wrongs.' […] and to engage in "critical discourse in which no citizen can claim a monopoly on truth and patriotism" (pp. 23-24).

Along movements to address issues of local equality and inclusion inside the nation-state, some have moved globally, proposing a notion of global citizenship, which advocates empathy and solidarity with people from all over the world (Olser & Vincent, 2002; Starkey, 2017). Some have proposed forms of education that are in line with cosmopolitan ideals (Appiah, 2006; Hansen, 2012; Starkey, 2017). Hansen (2012) presents models of cosmopolitanism from early 20th century American pragmatic thinkers, such as Jane Addams and John Dewey, who viewed the world not in terms of identity but rather "in terms of problems – social, cultural, economic – that called on various levels and degrees of solidarity for solution" (p. 19). Alarmed by the wave of "nationalistic sentiment" and the readiness to resort to force, Dewey (1934) emphasized "the social aim of education" (p. 203), and encouraged the creation of a curriculum that promoted world patriotism and social sciences, especially geography and history, to uphold peace and understanding. Dobson (2006) calls for a "thick cosmopolitanism" that is not only based on 'sympathy' and 'identification' with other people in the globe but also on "the recognition of causal responsibility and the doing of justice" (p. 174).

Social justice and personal responsibility

There have been many calls that highlight the importance of orienting citizenship education programmes to include issues of human rights, social justice and equality (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004; Carr, 2011; Osler & Starkey, 2005; Glass, 2008) in the local community and worldwide. Carr (2011) uses the argument of critical pedagogy that holds that educational institutions must address issues of inequity through critical analysis of the structure of power and oppression.

Westheimer & Kahne (2004) identify three different typologies of the "good citizen" that exist in citizenship education programmes: the personally responsible citizen, the participatory citizen and the justice-oriented citizen, as illustrated in table (2). Those programmes with the personally responsible citizen orientation are described as having an individualistic concept of good citizenship where citizens act responsibly in their community by, for example, contributing to charity, blood donation, recycling and respecting the country's laws. The second kind of citizen, the participatory citizen, is more likely to engage with superficial issues of injustice. Programmes here focus on how government and other institutions work on the importance of planning and participating in organized efforts to care for those in need. The third kind of citizen, justice-oriented citizen, critically approaches societal structures, challenge injustice and to attempt to change the root causes of local and global problems (p. 240). Westheimer & Kahne (2004) note that this last model is the least practiced and sought after in educational institutions.

Table (2): Kinds of citizens

	Personally responsible citizen	Participatory citizen	Justice-oriented citizen
Description	Act responsibly, work and pay taxes, obey the laws, recycle, donate blood, volunteer in times of crisis	Active member of community organizations, organize community efforts to care for those in need, promote economic development, or clean up environment, know how government agencies work	Critically assess social, political, and economic structures to see beyond surface causes, address areas of injustice, know about democratic social movements and how to cause systemic change
Sample actions	Contributing food to a food drive	Helping to organize a food drive	Exploring why people are hungry and acting to solve root causes
Assumptions	*To solve social problems and improve society,* citizens must have good character, they must be honest, responsible and law-abiding members of the community.	*To solve social problems and improve society,* citizens must actively participate and take leadership positions within established systems and community structures.	*To solve social problems and improve society,* citizens must question, debate, and change established systems and structures when they reproduce patterns of injustice over time.

Source: Westheimer & Kahne (2004. p. 27)

Critical social-justice-based approaches in citizenship education have called for genuine engagement in the community and criticized voluntarism and community-based charity action that lack critical reflection and do not help much in transforming the situations and structures that produce poverty or inequality in the first place. One example is the approach of service-learning which has been criticized on many occasions for its avoidance of addressing the underlying political and social structures in the society. While some researchers (Dull, 2009) highlight the positive impact of service-learning and the intercultural education value of service-leaning which contribute to building a democratic harmonious place for all, others have demanded a reconsideration and transformation of the approach. Colby (2008) draws attention to the difference between political and apolitical civic engagement. She thinks that what characterizes many of the service programmes is a lack of the "political" dimension, which is essential to building a democratic society. Mitchell (2008) also differentiates between traditional service-learning and a critical social justice approach to service-learning, which she believes leads to more complex thinking. Service-learning is often criticized and labeled as "charity" that reinforces the social hierarchies and power structures. In fact, some communities complain that they are being used as laboratories and

don't have an equal say on the process, although, in service-learning education, institutions are expected to enter into "genuinely equitable, reciprocal partnerships with community organizations or communities" (Jacoby, 2009. p. 97).

Westheimer and Kahne (2004) claim that "a vast majority of school-based service learning and community service programs embrace a vision of citizenship devoid of politics; they often promote service but not democracy" (p. 243). There have been recent calls for transformative approaches to how young people view "democratic" engagement. The concern is that while there is a potential increase in political life and participation and awareness of diversity, the structures that produce and reproduce injustices and inequality remain untouched (McCowan, 2009).

Following the above discussions of different arguments, some important questions that pose themselves in this research are: *How are these discussions relevant to teachers and teacher education? How can teachers navigate between these different discourses and debates? How can they achieve a truly intercultural approach to citizenship in the light of rising nationalist sentiments and lack of equal power relations? How can teachers balance between a human rights approach and the respect of some cultural norms that impede that vision? Taking into account that teachers themselves are civil servants of the state, can they promote a critical and disruptive kind of citizen or should they promote a loyal kind of citizen? Do teachers adopt a sameness view of every student in the classroom or do they adopt a pedagogy of difference? What makes a good citizen and how can teachers trace that?* The following section looks at some examples in the literature of attempts that provide some frameworks for teachers on how to teach citizenship education.

2.6. Toward finding common grounds

In the light of the diversity of meanings and goals and intended knowledge, skills and attitudes that educational initiatives have in mind, there are examples of attempts in the literature to establish common ground and achieve some unanimity in the field. For example, Banks and colleagues (2005) proposed a "Consensus Panel"[6] that provides a set of basic principles and concepts to guide educators and policy makers. Similarly, international organizations such as the United Nations, the European Commission and the Council of Europe have produced several documents that present specific aims, frameworks and competences to guide citizenship education initiatives. The European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice (2017) identified four key competences in relation to citizenship education on the EU level: interacting effectively and constructively with others; thinking critically; acting in a socially responsible manner; and acting democratically. In 2010 the Council of Europe member states adopted the *Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education*[7]. The Charter provides common standards on

[6] The diversity, Citizenship, and Global Education Consensus Panel was established at The Center for Multicultural Education at the University of Washington, Seattle, based on findings presented at an international conference in Italy (Banks et al., 2005).

[7] https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result_details.aspx?ObjectID=09000016805cf01f

learning democracy and human rights. According to the charter, education for democratic citizenship means:

> [E]ducation, training, awareness-raising, information, practices and activities which aim, by equipping learners with knowledge, skills and understanding and developing their attitudes and behaviour, to empower them to exercise and defend their democratic rights and responsibilities in society, to value diversity and to play an active part in democratic life, with a view to the promotion and protection of democracy and the rule of law (p. 7).

The Charter points to competences (such as knowledge, skills, attitudes and behaviours) that learners need to develop in order to be empowered to act as active citizens. Many member states have worked to introduce various initiatives to promote a culture of democracy at schools by promoting citizenship and intercultural education. However, a clear understanding of common goals of citizenship education was still missing. In 2018, the Council of Europe developed a *Reference Framework of Competences for Democratic Culture*[8] that was to be implemented at all school levels in Europe, including pre-school, primary and secondary schools, higher education, adult education and vocational education (Council of Europe, 2018a). The following provides some insights into the framework which has been consulted when designing the new citizenship education strategies in both of the countries involved in this research.

The Reference Framework of Competences for Democratic Culture

The framework clarifies that the term "culture of democracy" rather than "democracy" is used purposely in the present context to emphasize the fact that, while democracy cannot exist without democratic institutions and laws that protect the citizen rights to participate, such institutions and laws cannot work in practice unless they are grounded in a culture of democracy, that is, in democratic values, attitudes and practices.

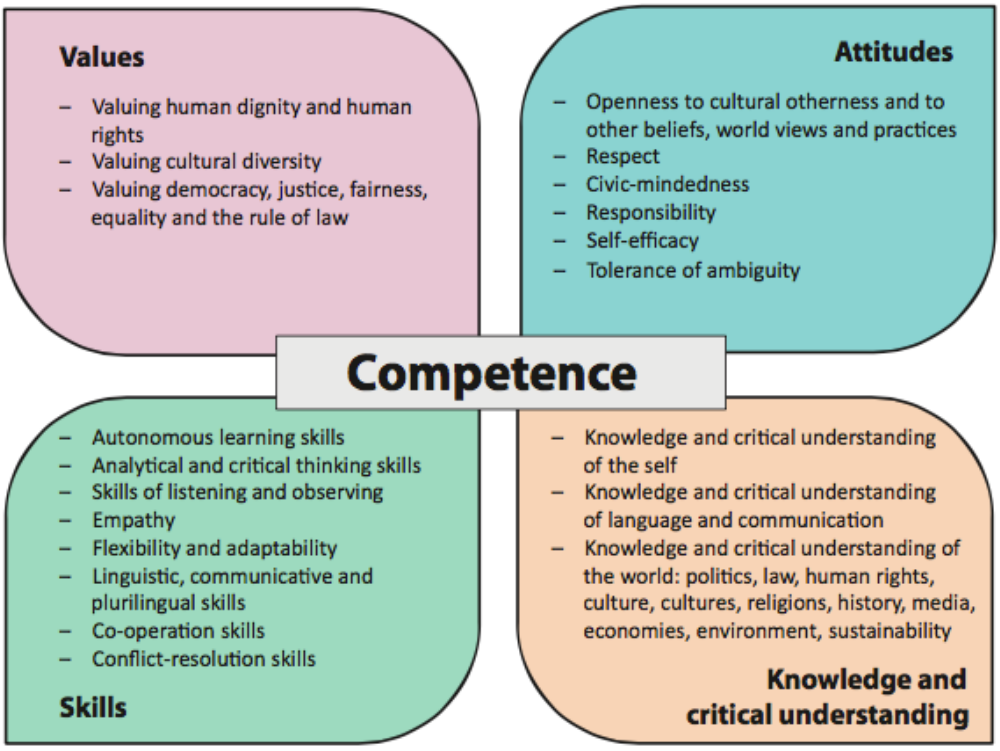
Similar to that of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages, this project aimed at providing educators and policy makers in the area of citizenship education with a common language. Published in April 2018, the competences for democratic culture (CDC) model was prepared by a group of international and interdisciplinary experts and was based on common European principles that offered education systems a common focus for their action and, at the same time, respected the diversity of pedagogical approaches in each state. In other words, it is not intended as "imposition of an idea" but rather "conceptual organization of the competences" and users can adapt it according to their special contexts and needs (Council of Europe, 2018a, p. 12). Thus, the use of the Framework "will always need to be adapted to the specific local, national and cultural contexts in which it is used, but it offers the means of ensuring comprehensiveness, transparency and coherence in any context" (Council of Europe, 2018a, p. 20).

The Framework comprises three volumes. The first, titled *Context, Concept and Model,* contains the Model of Competences with 20 competences divided into four areas – Values,

[8] https://www.coe.int/en/web/campaign-free-to-speak-safe-to-learn/reference-framework-of-competences-for-democratic-culture

Attitudes, Skills and Knowledge and critical understanding[9], as illustrated in figure (2), which has been commonly known as the CDC butterfly. This volume also includes background information on how it was developed and how it can be adapted. The second volume, *Descriptors of Competences for Democratic Culture*, contains a learning outcomes set for each competence, which are to help educators observe learners' behaviours in relation to a specific competence. The third volume, *Guidance for Implementation*, provides guidance to be implemented in different contexts.

Figure (2): The model of *Competences for Democratic Culture*



Source: Council of Europe (2018a)

The framework provides process-based approaches for teachers including how to model democratic processes in the classroom, project-based learning, and service learning, as we as content-based approaches, including concrete examples of how teachers can teach to promote democratic competences through different subject areas of language and literature, mathematics, geography and sciences. 135 competence descriptors have been developed for each of the 20 competences. An example is provided is figure (3). These competences were tested "using the language of learning outcomes" with the "behaviour that is described is observable and assessable" to help teachers in their practice (Council of Europe, 2018b, pp. 12-13).

[9] "Critical understanding" was added to emphasize the active role of learners and avoid the mere transmission of passive knowledge (Council of Europe, 2018a).

Figure (3): The descriptors of the first value competence of the of the CDC framework

Values

1. Valuing human dignity and human rights

1	Argues that human rights should always be protected and respected	Basic
2	Argues that specific rights of children should be respected and protected by society	
3	Defends the view that no one shall be subjected to torture or to inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment	Intermediate
4	Argues that all public institutions should respect, protect and implement human rights	
5	Defends the view that when people are imprisoned, although they are subject to restrictions, this does not mean that they are less deserving of respect and dignity than anyone else	Advanced
6	Expresses the view that all laws should be consistent with international human rights norms and standards	

Source: Council of Europe (2018b, p. 25)

The framework put forward a few factors that teachers need to take into account when observing competence. Observation should "encompass a variety of situations," including student's behaviour in the class and during the breaks, "focus on verbal, para-verbal and non-verbal behaviour," "be done in a consistent way, over a period of time and not rely simply on the first impression," use "written recording" and avoid putting the learner "in an uncomfortable situation" (Council of Europe, 2018b, pp. 13-14). While such frameworks are very useful for educators, this study questions whether it is necessary or even possible to evaluate learners in citizenship education programmes, and if so, then what kind of learning takes place in a citizenship education classroom, and whether we can really observe it or trace it. More importantly, how can teachers, with different dispositions and values themselves, be expected to interpret and evaluate such descriptors equally or even close to that?

While this section presented some attempted to find common language or framework for the discourse of citizenship education, the following section provides some insights into teacher education and the attempts to find a common professional identity. The section will also discuss some issues related to preparing teacher to teach citizenship education.

2.7. Citizenship education and teacher education in Europe

While acknowledging that there are different ways to understand and conceptualise teachers' professionalism according to different contexts (European Commission, 2013), continuous efforts are infested by research in order to provide teacher education a distinct and independent professional identity (Korthagen, 2010; Shagrir, 2010). In the European Teacher, Schratz (2014) identifies and discusses five domains of competence for teacher professionalism: reflection and discourse (through sharing knowledge and skills), professional awareness, cooperation and collegiality, ability to differentiate (through dealing

with large and small differences, and personal mastery. A six domain is represented in "the context in which the domains appear" (p. 15). In *Supporting Teacher Competence Development: for Better Learning Outcomes,* the European Commission (2013) identifies competences for teachers classified in three major areas: "knowledge and understanding", "skills", and "Dispositions", including "beliefs, attitudes, values, and commitment" (pp. 45-46).

In preparing teachers to teach, the research takes into account the unavoidable and difficult to eliminate "perennial polarisation of positions" between those against and those for professional standards for teachers and that while standards can be regarded as "positive and empowering when used as a means of promotion and enrichment" they can be seen as "static and reductionist due them being "time-and context-specific." (Mifsud, 2018, p.192). This, according to Mifsud (2018), calls for "an exploratory dialogue with the policy-making community to open up discursive spaces that allow accountability and standardization to co-exist with personal teacher narratives" (p. 192). The European Commission (2013) points out that "the functions and impact of the teacher standards culture in different countries show wide variations in the ways in which standards are implemented and used, according to the contexts and the responsibilities for judgement" (p. 16).
The introduction of citizenship education and the increasing attention it has received over the last few decades have brought about a need for teacher education programmes to address the complexity of this subject when preparing teachers. National and international documents confirm that teachers are key players in the delivery of citizenship education and supporting students develop the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values they need in order to reach their full potential as active members of society. Therefore, the availability of relevant, quality teacher training for citizenship education is an important prerequisite for equipping teachers with the competences they need to fulfil this role (European Commission/ EACEA/Eurydice, 2017). There is, however, an overall lack of organized and quality preparation programmes for teachers to engage in this field, with many teachers in need of systematic and constant support for professional development in this area (CoE, 2017b). Preparing teachers to work in this field is a challenging and complex process and teacher education programmes should take into account that teaching for democratic citizenship is not like teaching any other school subject. The Charter on Education for Democratic Citizenship EDC and Human Rights Education HRE acknowledges that challenge:

> The subject is very different from traditional subjects. Those who will teach it must first be taught it themselves. The best methods of teaching it are also different, and have to be learned (Council of Europe, 2010, p. 32).

Increased efforts have been made by many European countries in recent years to develop teachers' professional competences concerning citizenship education. While it was only possible to specialize in citizenship education in the UK, recently it has been possible also in Belgium, Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and Denmark. Seven Other countries (the Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Austria, Poland, and Slovakia) offer the possibility to train teachers to become semi-specialists in citizenship education. Generally, the area of citizenship education is integrated within initial teacher education courses for

specialists in history, geography, philosophy, ethics/religion, social studies, or economics (European Commission/ EACEA/Eurydice, 2017).

There is also a gap between the rhetoric of teaching citizenship and the way it is implemented in the EU member states. Regarding teacher education in particular, an All-European Study on EDC Policies has shown that "despite the importance it is given in policy statements, teacher training schemes do not give enough support to EDC [education for democratic citizenship] implementation efforts" (Gollob et al. 2007, p. 22). Several studies have shown that teachers have not received enough training to teach social studies and citizenship education and have reported a lack of confidence on how to teach and on which materials and approaches to use (Willemse et al., 2015).

Gollob et al. (2007) have listed some factors that affect the provision of teacher training programmes of EDC. Some of these factors have to do with *the nature of EDC* and the way it is currently developing in schools. Such factors include:

1. EDC is both a school subject and a whole-school approach. Therefore, it involves subject matter teaching, cross-curricular work, democratic school practices and community engagement. This means that training is both an issue at a general level for all teachers, and a concern for specific subject teachers, who teach citizenship and related subjects, such as history, political science and social science. This prompts the need for training to be at several different levels.

2. EDC has tended to develop in a "bottom-up" way, especially in countries with decentralized education systems which gives teachers more autonomy, yet makes it challenging to have an organized and coordinated teacher training programme.

3. EDC is an innovative concept, and this should involve a significant impact on teacher knowledge and practices as well as school structures and orientation, which can be challenging in contexts where the conventional teacher-led, authoritative approach to education is the dominant one.

4. The concept of EDC is not always well understood, which is a reoccurring concern in many studies. As established previously, the aims of this area of education are still debatable, which creates further challenges to teacher education.

Gollob et al. (2007) further discuss other factors related to *the nature of teacher training* and its current implementation such as:

1. Teacher training is delivered through several different providers, including government agencies, non-governmental and inter-governmental organizations, pedagogical institutes, etc., with little or no coordination among them.

2. Primary and secondary teachers have different forms of training. While primary teachers tend more to be generalists, secondary teachers are more subject matter specialists, which will require different training at both pre-service and in-service level.

Other factors include the fact that beginning teachers have different training requirements from experienced ones and that in-service training is often voluntary in many countries.

In general, the situation of teacher education for citizenship is related to arguments and challenges in teacher education for social studies. The lack of clear conceptualization of the term of social studies, its nature, content and pedagogies has created a lack of clarity about its provision. This has made teacher education in this area a challenging issue. Adler (2008) states that research in the area of social studies teacher education lacks scope and impact and has done very little to inform teacher education practices and has not provided a clear picture about which practices contribute more to developing effective teachers or what can be done to reform or improve the education of social studies teachers. Adler (2008) highlights the role of teachers in implementing and delivering the curriculum. Although she acknowledges the key role of contexts in the educational process, she maintains that "it is the teacher who makes the decisions about what actually gets taught in the classroom and how it gets taught. It is the teacher who assesses what students have actually learned and what individual needs individual students may have" (p. 329). This diversity and lack of agreement concerning the definitions, contents, and methods of social studies has contributed to the on-going debate about the kind of knowledge and skills that social studies teachers ought to obtain.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

This research is situated within the broad theoretical framework of critical pedagogy. The contested nature of citizenship education and the intended goal of this research to critically reflect on the provision and approaches of citizenship education, to re-consider and question common beliefs and practices about citizenship and democracy, and to include multiple voices and perspectives make critical theoretical approaches a suitable framework. The research will also be discussed in relation to transformative learning and its relation to teaching for thick democracy and citizenship education.

3.1. Critical Pedagogy

> *Public schools need to be organised around a vision that celebrates not what is but what could be, a vision that looks beyond the immediate to the future, and a vision that links struggle to a new set of possibilities (Giroux, 1988, p. 10)*

Critical pedagogy has developed and applied concepts from Critical Theory, including self-reflection in the agents; by reflecting, they come to realize "that their form of consciousness is ideologically false and that the coercion from which they suffer is self-imposed. […]. Once they have realized this, the coercion loses its 'power' or 'objectivity' and the agents are emancipated" (Guess, 1981, p. 61). When Critical Theory is capitalized, it often refers to the Frankfurt School of Critical Theorists. Influenced by the social, political and economic conditions that surrounded them, those theorists criticized fascism and capitalism and called for the emancipation of human beings from the conditions that enslaved them. Critical theorists also criticize the positivistic approach to research, which has caused a tendency to view the world and its problems as technical, objective and thus out of control and change.

Critical pedagogy calls for dialogue, critical consciousness, transformation, and agency (Freire, 2000; Giroux 2004) and provides a suitable framework to understand citizenship education. Citizenship education, which touches on issues of identity, one's place as an individual in the community and the world, power relations, equality, justice and political literacy, are educational issues that have always concerned critical pedagogues. Critical pedagogy addresses inequality in society and views education "as a project for democracy and critical citizenship" (Giroux, 2007). For critical pedagogues, pedagogy "makes a space available for an argument about the responsibility of the present for a democratic future" (Giroux, 2007, p. 1), which is the essence of genuine citizenship education and what it aims to achieve in the young generation:

> Pedagogy always represents a commitment to the future, and it remains the task of educators to make sure that the future points the way to a more socially just world, a world in which the discourses of critique and possibility in conjunction with the values of reason, freedom, and equality function to alter, as part of a broader democratic project, the grounds upon which life is lived (Giroux, 2007, p. 2).

Critical Pedagogy emerged from the work of Paulo Freire, especially his book *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1967), that envisaged the use of education for addressing the social problems of Brazil at the time. Critical pedagogy merged the ethics of liberation theology and the Critical Theory of the Frankfurt School with progressive impulses in education. By the mid-1970s several scholars in education and other disciplines adopted Freire's conception of critical pedagogy into so-called first-world contexts (Kinchloe, 2007). Critical pedagogy attempts to provide individuals with the means to empower themselves and their society in the struggle to achieve a more just and equitable society. It aims to empower the powerless and transform the conditions that maintain injustice and inequity. Paulo Freire's thoughts of critical pedagogy have also had a great influence on the theory and practice of teaching for democracy, peace and social justice. His principal pedagogical method is dialogue. Education, for him, is a process of cultural liberation and dialogue (Graysone, 2004). It can be argued that the basic assumptions of Freire's philosophy point to a theory of justice, which can serve as a foundation for critical citizenship education.

The strength of Freire's approach is in critical inquiry and his criticism of the "banking system" which does not encourage reflection and critical thinking or provide an environment where students understand the past, present, and the future and empathize with the experiences of other people. The metaphor of the banking system informs the discussion of how critical pedagogy views teachers. What role do teachers play? For critical pedagogy, teachers are not merely transmitters of knowledge but rather active agents of change. Critical pedagogues reject indoctrination and insist that the aim of education is to encourage human agency and not to mould it in any way (Giroux, 2007). Critical pedagogy is also centred on the notion that teachers are researchers who teach students to produce their own knowledge. Teachers, taking on that role, must also study their students, their backgrounds and the forces that shape them. In this respect, critical pedagogy is devoted to appreciating the context in which educational activity takes place (Kinchloe, 2007).

Critical pedagogy is not concerned with simply offering students new ways of thinking critically and acting as agents; it is also "concerned with providing students with the skills and knowledge necessary for them to expand their capacities both to question deep-seated assumptions and myths that legitimate the most archaic and disempowering social practices that structure every aspect of society and to take responsibility for intervening in the world they inhibit" (Giroux, 2007, p. 2).

Key to this research is the need to acknowledge the subjectivity and value-laden aspects of citizenship education, teaching approaches and beliefs about what makes a good citizens and which values are to be instilled in students and the need for constant reflection on our decisions and practices as educators. Critical pedagogy acknowledges that education and teachers can never be neutral:

> Teachers can make a claim to being fair, but not to being either neutral or impartial. Teacher authority can never be neutral, nor can it be assessed in terms that are narrowly ideological. It is always broadly political and interventionist in terms of the knowledge-effects it produces, the classroom experiences it organises, and the future it presupposes in the countless ways in which it addresses the world. Teachers, at its best, means taking a stand without standing still. It suggests that as educators we

> make a sincere effort to be self-reflective about the value-laden nature of our authority while taking on the fundamental task of educating students to take responsibility for the direction of society (Giroux, 2007, p. 2).

3.1.1. Critical pedagogy and teaching for democracy

I use the concept of "deep democracy" presented by Young (2000) which is based on a conviction that democracy should promote justice and inclusion. This notion of democracy is also "not an all-or-nothing affair, but a matter of degree; societies can vary in both the extent and the intensity of their commitment to democratic practice" (p. 5). There is a strong consensus about the importance and relevance of education for democracy. Democracy is vital to education and it could be argued that critical and engaged education is a prerequisite for democracy (Carr, 2011). This research does not claim that democracy is unquestionably good and that what is not democratic must thus be unquestionably bad (Carr, 2011). Carr (2011) argues that we should acknowledge that democracy means many things to many people. He goes on to justify how critical pedagogy provides "a space to further reflect on the meaning of democracy, and to accept, with humility, that there is not simply one way to conceive of the human condition: the mere act of voting does not make a democracy! Societies are too complex to be reduced to such a caricature." (p. 5) He uses the example of India, which is considered the world's largest democracy only because people have the supposedly free choice to vote but at the same time the country lacks the true essence of democracy, i.e. social justice. I use the "multi-layered" and "contested and contentious" meaning of social justice offered by Zajda, Majhanovich & Rust (2006) referring "to the overall fairness of a society in its divisions and distributions of rewards and burdens" (p. 13). The argument here is that democracy must be linked to social justice (Freire, 1973; Westheimer & Kahn, 2004; Carr, 2011), and it must consider how a more humane society can be constructed, away from the elitist and constitutional schemes that often disregard or demean the ambitions of all people.

Schensul, Berg & Brase (2002) use the argument of critical educational theorists who think that formal and informal educational institutions should address issues of inequity through critical analysis of the structure and processes of power, dominance and oppression. Critical pedagogy acknowledges that education is a political enterprise and is never neutral and aims to provide the learner with the tools to not just be governed but to also be able to govern. While education and curriculum are tools to indoctrinate the youth in many countries with non-existent, weak and fragile democracy, it can be argued that, even in liberal democracies, public education has been influenced according to hegemonic values and pressure, such as neoliberal values (Apple, 2000, Carr, 2011; 2014). Further, schools are the site where cultural reproduction and dominant social ideologies are transmitted through the hidden curriculum (Freire, Macedo & Giroux, 1985; Apple, 2000). Carr & Thésée (2017) argue that in order to "confront and reconcile hegemonic forms of dominance, privilege, neoliberalism, and inequitable power relations, education has to be considered a central educational and political focus" (p. 251).

When discussing education and democracy, Dewey's contribution still provides an inspiration. He was interested in a "humanistic, progressive education, in which authoritarian models of knowledge transmission could be problematized and replaced by experiential efforts" (Carr, 2011, p. 6). Dewey (1961) links education to democracy and thinks that education should be the primary means of social progress, not just a means to develop the intellect for its own sake. Dewey (1961) writes that "man is responsible and he has to be involved in social affairs" (p. 26), and maintains that educational institutions should acknowledge their important role in transforming the learning process, the lives of learners, and the communities they live in.

Dewey speaks about the social and moral responsibility of education. In *The Need for a Philosophy of Education* (1934), he emphasizes the social responsibility of schools and their role in social construction. He criticized the transmission of information and was in favour of a uninformative experiential meaningful learning based on critical thinking, action and reflection. In his *Philosophy of Education* (1916), he thinks that a student becomes "educated" only when he has an opportunity "to contribute something from his own experience, no matter how meager or slender that background of experience may be at a given time, and finally that enlightenment comes from the give and take, from the exchange of experiences and ideas" (p. 36). For Dewey (1961), democracy is not only a form of government but also a way of living together.

This research proposes a "thick" approach to understanding democracy. It rejects the belief that only the ability to vote is essential to democracy and seeks a more critical and thicker understanding of what democracy is and what teaching for democracy implies and what it should achieve. Teachers have the choice of promoting and doing *thicker* democracy that is reflective, critical, participatory, tolerant and non-hierarchical, or choosing a *thinner*, authoritarian democracy that is based on uncritical knowledge, standards and competencies that serve to measure of the "good citizen" (Zyngier, 2013).

A thick understanding of democracy places the political in the centre of citizenship education discourse and practice. By being political, I mean to echo the following statement by Westheimer (2004):

> [Politicising education] recognizes ambiguity and conflict, that sees human conditions and aspirations as complex and contested, and that embraces debate and deliberation as a cornerstone of democratic societies. For these educators, 'being political' is a good thing. It is about embracing the kind of controversy and ideological sparring that is the engine of progress in a democracy and that gives education social meaning (p. 231).

I also embrace the meaning of being "political" by Bryan (2014) which is about "disrupting learners' deeply entrenched, often tacit understanding of how the world works, to produce alternative ways of seeing, hearing and reading the world" (p. 3).

On contemplating the relation between citizenship education and democracy, Biesta & Lawy (2006) provides an argument for "a deep understanding of a democratic citizenship:"

> Democracy itself requires a continuous interrogation of the possible meanings of democratic citizenship, and citizenship education should be one site where such an interrogation takes place. This does not mean that citizenship education should only be about the exploration of the possible meanings of citizenship. If learning democracy is situated in the lives of young people, then citizenship education should also facilitate a critical examination of the actual conditions of young people's citizenship, even though it may lead them to the conclusion that their own citizenship is limited and restricted. Such an approach would provide the basis for a deep understanding of democratic citizenship (p. 14).

3.2. Transformative learning

The idea of transformation through education is often linked to critical reflection and Freire's critical pedagogy for emancipation and transformation. Transformative learning theory, which is often associated with Jack Mezirow and his transformative learning theory (TLT), also provides a foundation for the discussion. In defining transformative learning, I borrow from Mezirow (1997) who called for a "learning that transforms problematic frames of references to make them more inclusive, discriminating, reflecting, open, and emotionally able to change" (p. 22). A frame of reference consists of "habits of mind" and ensuing "points of view" which, generally "encompasses cognitive, conative, and emotional components" including rules, criteria, ideology, paradigms, assumptions, feelings and attitudes (Mezirow, 1997, pp. 5-6.). Although adult learners were the main audience the theory targeted, it has expended to involve various fields and ways of thinking. It is grounded in constructivism, humanism and critical theory, drawing on John Dewey, Jürgen Habermas, Paulo Freire and others.

Transformational learning involves individuals gaining an awareness of their current habits of mind and resulting points of view, accompanied by a critique of their underlying assumptions and premises. It also includes an assessment of alternative views and a decision to renounce an old view in favour of a new one, or to make a synthesis of old and new, resulting in more dependable knowledge and justified beliefs to guide action.

Stray & Sætra (2017) propose using transformative learning theory in implementing policy and pedagogy of teaching for democracy as a way to deal with the gap between policy and practice. An example that is relevant to the current study involves the following:

> A teacher who wants to tell who is best in class can either focus on content – test results, written work, participation in the discussion – or on the process by re-examining the comparative quality of students' problem solving. If the teacher decides that he/she should not judge the students' performance competitively because there are many socio-economic and cultural variables differentiating the students, and redefine this premise by adopting the practice of portfolio assessment in which each student competes with herself, the teacher has redefined the premise of the problem (Mezirow, 2009, p. 23).

The term transformative teacher has been used in education since the 1990s to describe an educator who seeks to foster positive social change through his or her work (Baker-Doyle, 2017). Taylor (2009) sees transformative learning as "teaching for change" (p. 3) and

recognizes the potential of "value-laden course content [that] can both provoke and provide a process for facilitating change" (p. 6). Langan, Sheese & Davidson (2009) see transformation for educators in having "students recognize and challenge the dominant ideological assumptions that are taken for granted in every day discussion and representation of social (in)equalities" (p. 46). They employ "constructive teaching and learning" (p. 49) to define their transformative learning approach that goes beyond critical logical thinking to include emotions, imagination and intuition. When introducing activities and concepts that provoke disruptions and challenge conventional beliefs, tensions are expected. Because transformative learning involves a deep shift in one's perspective and even whole being, trust is very important in this approach, as argued by all the researchers mentioned above. Yet to completely trust in the not-yet-known and embrace it is a challenge.

In the light of a rapidly-changing and highly technology-oriented world, Baker-Doyle (2017) speaks about the potential of teacher transformation to meet the demands of the contemporary world via their own leadership. A contemporary transformative teacher, for her, is "a passionate public intellectual committed to pursuing social justice and equity to all students through […] using digital-era cultural tools such as 'making', 'hacking' and 'connecting' to design, organize and lead collective efforts to grow teacher knowledge and agency" (p. 4). She speaks of a new wave of teacher-led networked social movements that aim to improve education from the ground up and which are transforming the teacher from "an isolated, passive, technical worker to a connected, socio-politically active, knowledge-building agent of change, and, in turn, taking the lead in shaping the cultures and practices of contemporary teaching and learning" (p. 4). While some may interpret the term to mean transforming student learning outcomes, this paper refers to the agency of teachers to transform the discourse and practice of the profession, which stands in contrast to the concept of teachers as technical implementers of the curriculum. Table (3) presents an overview of teacher transformative knowledge and relationships, presented by Baker-Doyle (2017), which can provide a foundation for the following discussions.

Table 3. Transformative teacher principles

Transformative knowledge	Transformative relationships
Teachers as intellectuals Grounded expertise Focus on particular and pragmatic Use of research and data Inquiry Changing/hacking dominant narratives Creative making and crafting	Democratic processes Social justice and equity Public work Private sphere/blurred lines Collective problem solving Reciprocity/caring Contribution to the whole

Source: Baker-Doyle (2017, p. 26).

One important dimension of transformative learning proposed in this study is the role of reflection and being mindful of change, defined by Hatcher & Bringel (1997) as "the

intentional consideration of an experience in light of a particular learning objective" (p.153). Drawing on Dewey's theories of experiential learning, Kolb (1984) developed an experiential learning theory through which learning "is created through the transformation of experience"(p. 38). There are four aspects of Kolb's experiential learning cycle: (a) concrete experience, (b) reflection, (c) abstract conceptualization, and (d) active experimentation: A concrete experience is the basis for observations and reflections. These reflections are refined into concepts from which new inferences for action can be drawn. These inferences are continually tested and they guide the creation of further experiences. With regard to service-learning, Strain (2005) advocates a type of reflection that connects the cognitive inquiry with the experience in order to reach transformation, highlighting the importance of students reflecting on issues of social justice capable of shifting views from "charity to social justice" (p. 63) which in turn has the potential to influence cognitive as well as affective, and moral development.

While the Kolbian models of reflection above are about reflecting on past experiences, Scharmer (2000) presents a "new learning capacity" he calls "presencing" which entails "to use your highest Self as a vehicle for sensing, embodying, and enacting emerging futures" (p. 4). Scharmer (2009) puts his conceptualization of embodying the future as it emerges in his *Theory U*, where he maintains that the presencing capacity requires the cultivation of open mind, open heart and open will. An open mind enables the person to see things differently by setting aside biases and old beliefs to transform "the voice of judgement" (p. 42). An open heart enables the person to reach a deep level of feeling that makes him or her be able to see things from someone else's perspective. An open will entails courage and transforming the "the voice of fear" by "letting go" (p. 42) so that the new possibilities of the future can come. Scharmer (2009) maintains that the cultivation of these capacities should involve both the individual and the collective.

The above discussion creates new opportunities to be considered in teacher education to enable teachers to engage in multiple questions and reflection about what they know, how they teach and what makes them teach the way they teach, and what is yet to come and emerge and how to deal with it.

3.3. A thick-thin guide

Based on the above arguments and borrowing from Carr's (2011, pp. 19-20) thick-thin spectrum of education for democracy, this research develops a sort of guide, as shown in table (4), that suits the current research context and methodology. Like Carr's spectrum, the guide is not to be understood as assuming "fixed, stable, binary positions or judgments. Rather, it is meant as an instrument, tool, or qualitative index to highlight intentions, actions, plans, outcomes and engagement with and for education for democracy." (Carr & Thésée, 2017, p. 255). Not all of Carr's (2011) spectrum elements were adopted. For example, the third point of the spectrum views democratic education as a separate subject on the "thin" side and as a cross-curricula approach on the "thick" end of the spectrum. The two countries involved follow both modes, from a policy perspective. This research, focusing on the perspectives of teachers, argues that the mode of delivery, whether cross-curricula, project-based, integrated or independent subject is not what matters, but rather teachers' agency, disposition, engagement and wisdom in approaching certain topics and issues. Furthermore,

different countries, due to historical, political or resource-related issues follow one mode rather than the other.

Table (4): The thick-thin guide to understand teacher's approach to citizenship education

THIN (formal)	THICK (lived)
1.Teachers believe in one definition of democracy and voting is key to democracy.	Teachers provide the space to discuss the complexity and the vastness of democracy. Voting is but one element to democracy and must be problematized and contextualized.
2.Citizenship education implies a weak or no connection between democracy and education.	Engaged connection between democracy and education
3. Teachers encourage an uncritical nationalism, patriotism and loyal and uncritical assessment of the government and authority.	Teachers encourage critical patriotism and interrogation of power and linking local and global affairs (encouraging supranational EU, or global and cosmopolitan outlooks).
4. Teachers advocate for personally responsible citizens.	Teachers advocate for more than personal traits of civics to include issues of social justice.
5. Politics entails party politics and elections and often is avoided.	Politics concerns all aspects of education, including decision-making, discussions, marginalization and power and is often encouraged.
6. Teachers avoid and or superficially address contested and controversial issues in class.	Teachers address controversial issues and acknowledge that avoiding them can do more harm and contribute to more racism and injustice.
7. Teachers do not link citizenship education with the local society or the global community.	Teachers encourage students to engage in the community and to transform it.
8. Plurality and multiculturalism are essentialized or romanticized.	Multiculturalism is critiqued or politicized and structural inclusion is emphasized.
9. Becoming a good citizen is understood as a rational and automatic outcome of schooling.	Teachers understand the complexity of teaching democracy in an open society.
10. teachers adopts predefined civic identities and traits when teaching for citizenship	Teachers are open to unpredictable and multiple identifies and expressions of citizenship
12. Teachers claim objectivity and neutrality in the class.	Teachers acknowledge their subjectivity and constantly reflect on their values.

13. Ethnocentric conceptions of democracy	Inclusive holistic and critical conceptions of democracy

Source: author, adopted from Carr (2011)

Chapter 4: Methodology

The chapter provides a detailed explanation of the journey of how the data was collected. The chapter starts with a brief explanation of how choices and decisions changed along the way. It then introduces the scientific and theoretical underpinnings of the choice of methodology and its relevance to the way reality and knowledge is viewed in this research. It then briefly presents the current contexts involved and the justification, followed by the methods of data collection and data analysis. Issues of validity and reliability, ethical consideration, limitations and researcher's positionality are also reflected on in this chapter.

4.1. Choosing the "how" question:

When discussing the disagreement on research methods in various fields of social sciences, Mayring (2014) claims that "[p]erhaps, no issue in social sciences contains more differences of opinion than research methodology. And there is perhaps no topic with more importance for scientific work and valid research results than that of adequate research methods." (p. 6) I have found the above to be true after a long journey reviewing different books and approaches on research methodology. The journey confirmed my belief that there was no such thing as the perfect method and further diversified my understandings and taken-for-granted conceptions about some methods.

When I embarked on this research, I decided to follow the discourse analysis approach (Fairclough, 1989; 1995). The intriguing tenants of the approach spoke (Wodak, 2006) to my inner linguist and my keenness on social linguistics and the role of languages in shaping our world and experiences. The commitment of the approach to social justice (Phillips and Hardy, 2002) and its focus on exposing the discursive construction of different power relations and identities further intensified my interest. Once I started collecting data, however, I began questioning the validity and consistency of discursively approaching texts that were delivered in a language that was a foreign language to the speaker. English, which was the medium of collecting data, was spoken as a foreign language by all the respondents. Some of them were more fluent than others. Some struggled with basic words and vocabularies. Others needed an assistant to translate what they meant. Various misunderstandings happened during the interviews due to issues of translation. Linguistic features, including semantic and syntactic choices, the use of certain metaphors, hesitation, euphemism, vagueness, a direct or an indirect mode of representation, to name but a few, could have implications on interpreting the data. However, it was not reasonable or even fair or ethical to address these features when the speaker was not using English as a first language (L1). After seeking advice and receiving no answers that gave me complete peace, I started looking for other approaches.

Then came a phase of reading and exploring different methodological approaches parallel to my data collection. I became intrigued with the action research approach (Kemmis, 1991) but I knew I was at a stage of my research when it was too late to get involved in that engaged and active endeavour. Language barriers were also an obstacle. My aim was to select an approach that was consistent with my research aim and theoretical framework and at the same time flexible and adjustable to the unexpected. While maintaining a qualitative interpretive direction, content analysis, even some of the approaches claiming to work within the qualitative paradigm (Mayring, 2014), seemed too rigid for my research. I found relief and inspiration, however, in Schreier's (2012) qualitative content analysis, a flexible method that enabled me to continue to adapt and change different aspects of the research along the process of collecting and analysing the data. Its focus on latent meaning was also very appropriate and needed in this research to provide rich and multifaceted interpretations. Latent thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) was another method that was utilized to approach the data.

Overall, although overwhelming and time-consuming, that ethical dilemma of having to adjust my methods while collecting my data provided me with opportunities to explore different approaches that could have been adopted in this research. This research could have been approached using narrative analysis, in which narratives and stories are used to reveal significant findings about individuals' choices, decisions, and backgrounds (Eliott, 2005; Livholts, & Tamboukou, 2015). Further, when it comes to the need to consider the complexity of the experience of teaching and learning, the nature of learning, and the unique unpredictable and unrepeatable experiences of teachers and learners, this research shares some of the foundations of vignette research, a qualitative phenomenological methodology developed at the University of Innsbruck, which encourages researchers to capture data by co-experiencing (Schratz & Westfall-Greiter, 2015; Schratz, Westfall-Greiter, & Schwarz, 2014).

I now proceed to describe my method choice in details. According to Yin (2011), good qualitative research "has both a declarative self which wants to tell the world what you have learnt and reflective self which should admit and clarify how you learnt what you know" (p. 264). In the following, I attempt to present my "reflective self" in the most transparent and accurate manner possible.

4.2. Scientific and theoretical background

Research differentiates between quantitative and qualitative research not by looking at the type of evidence but on the basis of wholly different philosophical beliefs (Yin, 2003, p. 15). This research develops within the qualitative philosophical paradigm that is based on the hermeneutic tradition as opposed to the positivistic and objective epistemology of the quantitative paradigm (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006). This paradigm is anti-positivist and "is characterized by a concern for the individual" and aims "to understand the subjective world of human experience" (Cohen et al, 2007, p. 21). It is interpretive in that the data in the qualitative research is "not standardised, but requires an active effort at interpretation on the researcher's side [and with that] several interpretations of the same material can be equally valid, each emphasizing a different facet of the meaning" (Schreier, 2012, p. 20). This

paradigm is guided by the intention to explore and provide open-ended interpretations and never claims to present any final answers or conclusions.

The epistemological underpinning adopted here is that social reality is subjective and cannot be predicted, controlled or measured. Meaning is not out there to be discovered but it is rather constructed and produced during the research process through the interactions between the researcher and the participants within a particular context (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006). The qualitative paradigm is thus reflexive by acknowledging both the reflexivity of the participants "by considering them our partners in the research process" and of ourselves by acknowledging "the ways in which we co-produce our data and our findings" (Schreier, 2012, p. 23). This epistemological position is relevant to this study, which takes into account the researcher's and the participants' viewpoints as constructed through several social interactions in the different contexts involved. Thus, the researcher is never an objective observer but an active participant in the construction of meaning (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006). With recognising the subjectivity of the researcher, objectivity is, therefore, irrelevant to qualitative research. In contrast to objectivity in quantitative research, this research adheres to the principle of "sensitivity" in qualitative research, which means "having insight, being tuned into, being able to pick up on relevant issues, events, and happenings in data. It means being able to present the view of participants and taking the role of the other through immersion in data." (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 54)

According to Yin (2011), qualitative research is concerned with the following:
1. studying the meaning of people's life under real life conditions
2. representing the views and perspective of the people of the study
3. converting the contextual conditions within which people live
4. contributing insights into existing or emerging concepts that may help to explain human behaviour
5. and striving to use multiple sources of evidence rather than relying on a single source alone (pp. 7-8.)

Corbin & Strauss (2008) argue: "Committed qualitative researchers lean toward qualitative work because they are drawn to the fluid, evolving, and dynamic nature of this approach in contrast to the more rigid and structured format of quantitative methods." (p. 31) I lean toward this approach for its acknowledgment that social realities are complex and difficult to predict or measure. In line with the need to take into consideration the complex and fluid nature of the world and social relations, this research finds inspiration in an emergent paradigm that has been recently employed in educational research and methodologies. It is that of complexity theory (Morrison, 2006[10]). In general, complexity theory is about change, evolution and adaptation to survive. Its entrance to the field of education is recent, with the recognition of educational bodies and practices sharing common features with complex and emergent systems in unpredictable and emergent contexts (Morrison, 2006). According to Cohen et al. (2007), complexity theory in educational research "stands against simple linear

[10] It is important to note that many of the features of complexity theory are not new or innovative. "however, the bringing together of several key constructs into a more-or-less unified theory is, perhaps, what gives complexity theory its impetus and attraction." (Morrison, 2006, p. 1)

methodologies based on linear views of causality, arguing for multiple causality and multidirectional causes and effects, as organisms (however defined: individuals, groups, communities) are networked and relate at a host of different levels and in a range of diverse ways" (p. 34).

Methodologically speaking, this paradigm suggests the need for heterogeneity and exploring different perspectives and voices on an issue, which this research attempts to achieve by targeting different sources of data and providing multi-layered, thick and complex interpretations. Citizenship education, teaching and learning and conceptualization of the good citizen continue to stir debates with different layers of values and interpretations. This requires a paradigm that is open to complexity and negotiation.

By aiming to understand and interpret realities within their contexts and to look for patterns and relationships, this research approaches data within their unique and changing contexts and pays attention to the relations and the interaction between the researcher, and the teachers and students and their colleagues. Therefore, qualitative data are subjective, complex and open to multiple possibilities and could be interpreted differently by different researchers and the same researcher might interpret the same data differently at a different time (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

4.3. EDiTE and the selection of the countries of the research

The research was conducted in Austria and Portugal, two countries that participated in the EDiTE consortium along three others (Hungary, Czech Republic and Poland). Being the country of the host university of the researcher, Austria was chosen as the first country to conduct this research in. Portugal, which was selected as a country to spend the mobility period of the EDiTE programme, was selected as the second country to be included in this research.

Further reasons for this selection have to do with the fact that both countries were just starting to pilot new reforms in the area of citizenship education at the start of this research programme. A new curriculum for citizenship education as an integrated subject was launched in Austria for the school year 2015/16. Likewise, Portugal launched a new strategy for citizenship education in 2016 within a comprehensive education reform that aimed to target issues of democracy in schools. I was also motivated by my supervisor and some colleagues at my home university to address the topic in Austria, since it had not been widely explored. I also received encouraging feedback from my co-supervisor in Portugal regarding the intention of exploring citizenship education in Portugal and I was sent some official documents about the new strategy that had just been launched. I felt intrigued to conduct this research at times of new changes like these, which could provide a dynamic and manifold depiction of teaching citizenship at schools. There were benefits as well as shortcomings to doing research in times of change, which I will discuss later in my thesis.

With two countries being involved in the research, it is important to note that the study is not intended to be a comparative research. It provides a qualitative exploratory research of citizenship education in the two countries with a focus on teachers' views, approaches and experiences. The study has a comparative dimension but it is not to be seen as the focus of

the study. The study's main aim is not to compare and contrast the data collected from the two countries or to transfer one country's educational ideas and/or practices in another, which I believe will limit rather than enrich the study. Rather, the comparative aspect employed here aims to deepen understanding about how citizenship education has been approached and practiced in the two countries within their unique contexts. Each country context, including data collection and findings, are handled and discussed in a separate section. An overall discussion follows to address and highlight the EDiTE strands, in line with the overarching EDiTE framework.

4.4. Methods of data collection

4.4.1. Semi-structured, qualitative interviews

Aiming to investigate how teachers conceptualize and practice citizenship education, the current research utilizes the method of interviews as the main method for collecting data. Because of the lack of sufficient research on teachers, the purpose of interviews is mostly of an exploratory nature.

The interviews employed are semi-structured qualitative interviews in which some questions were put forward to guide the conversation and, at the same time, to give the respondents some freedom to talk freely about what they believed was interesting or relevant (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006). The interviews adopt the "qualitative interviews" conception (Yin, 2011). According to Yin (2011), a qualitative interview does not have "a questionnaire containing the complete list of the questions to be posed to a participant" but rather "a mental framework of study questions" (p. 134). The "mental framework" in this research took the form of a guide of six themes that steered the conversation. A sample list of questions is provided in appendix (1). However, the specific wording and order of the questions differed according to the participant and the context.

Second, a qualitative interview does not claim a uniform behaviour but rather it adopts a conversational approach with a customized social relationship unique to each participant (Yin, 2011). This conversational mode requires careful listening from the researcher to grasp the real meaning intended as some participants may seem more straightforward and others more reserved. Conversational modes also allow for two-way communications in which the participant can actively contribute, ask questions and interrogate the researcher, which is in line with the reflexive nature of the qualitative design.

The participants

A non-probability sampling, aiming to represent a specific group of people (professionals in the area of citizenship education), was used along a snow-ball technique, where some individuals with the characteristics needed were targeted and then were asked to contact individuals who had similar characteristics (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2000; 2007). My two supervisors, as well as other colleagues and academics at both universities, had a key role in helping to establish initial contact with prospective participants by either providing me with their contact information or by initiating the first e-mail contact. The sample included the following:

- teachers
- teacher educators
- policy experts in the area of citizenship education
- educational experts/professionals in the area of citizenship education[11]

The teachers included in the study taught various subject in the social studies area, including history, geography and languages. Since citizenship education is taught as an integrated subject with history, most of the teachers interviewed in Austria were mainly history teachers. In Portugal, the spectrum was more diverse since different criteria applied, as will be discussed in chapter 5. A science teacher was interviewed, for example, because she was involved in school-based initiatives on citizenship. All the teachers interviewed were in-service teachers. Teachers often taught students belonging to different levels and age groups, ranging from 11 to 17 years of age. That included lower secondary and secondary education level in Austria and the second and third cycle of the basic education level as well as secondary level in Portugal. All the teachers were involved in the teaching of citizenship education whether through a formal separate class, an integrated subject, or through school projects. The interviewees were listed in the tables below in a chronological order depending on the date and time when each interview was conducted:

Table 5: Overview of interviewees

	Interviewee code and profile – Austria	manner	Date
1	(AT.NG.1): NGO representative	online	16/2/18
2	(AT.T.1): Experienced[12] history teacher	Face-to-face	9/4/18
3	(AT.TE.1): Teacher educator	Face-to-face	10/4/18
4	(AT.T.2): Experienced teacher of religion/researcher	Face-to-face	10/4/18
5	(AT.NG.2): NGO representative	online	11/4/18
6	(AT.T.3): Young history teacher	Face-to-face	11/4/18
7	(AT.T.4): Young history teacher	Face-to-face	12/4/18
8	(AT.T.5): Young history teacher	Face-to-face	12/4/18
9	(AT.T.6): Experienced English teacher	Face-to-face	23/4/18
10	(AT.T.7): Experienced history teacher	Face-to-face	24/4/18
11	(AT.T.8): Experienced history teacher	Face-to-face	25/4/18
12	(AT.TE.2): Teacher educator /researcher	Face-to-face	25/4/18
13	(AT.T.9): Experienced history teacher	Face-to-face	25/4/18
14	(AT.P.1): policy personnel	online	22/1/19

[11] For example, NGO representatives that worked with citizenship education initiatives.

[12] The teachers were classified as 'young' or 'experienced' depending on the years in service. I have decided that any period less than 5 years counted as 'young'.

15	(AT.T. 11): experienced history teacher	Face-to-face	23/5/19
16	(AT.T. 11): young history teacher of history	Face-to-face	23/5/19
17	(AT.TE.3): Teacher educator/researcher	Face-to-face	5/6/19
	Interviewee code and profile – Portugal	manner	Date
1	(PT.TE.1): Teacher educator	Face-to-face	21/9/18
2	(PT.TE.2): Teacher educator	Face-to-face	24/9/18
3	(PT.T.1): Young teacher of science	Face-to-face	2/10/18
4	(PT.T.2): Young teacher of Portuguese	Face-to-face	3/10/18
5	(PT.T.3): Experienced history teacher	Face-to-face	13/11/18
6	(PT.PE.3): policy expert	online	23/11/18
7	(PT.TE.3): Teacher educator	Face-to-face	26/11/18
8	(PT.T.4) Experienced geography teacher	Face to face	29/1/19
9	(PT.T.5) Young English teacher	Face to face	30/1/19
10	(PT.T.6) Young teacher of religion/ teacher trainer	Online	1/2/19
11	(PT.T.7) experienced teacher of Portuguese and French	Face to face	25/2/19
12	(PT.T.8) experienced teacher Portuguese and English	Face to face	25/2/19
13	(PT.T.9) young teacher of English and history	Face to face	28/2/19

Source: author

The table above includes only the interviews that were recorded and transcribed. Three interviews were not recorded and the audio file of one interview became corrupted. The notes and data from these three interviews were included in the researcher's notes document to be referred to as "conversation with teachers."

All the interviews were conducted on an individual one-to-one basis, except for one interview when two teachers preferred to be interviewed at the same time at their school. All the interviews took place in English. Some participants needed the help of Google Translate. One participant preferred to have a colleague to help translate what she wanted to say. The dynamics of the interview and the way the two expressed their opinions made me decide on including them as two separate participants since the interview took a course that was far from being a speaker-translator one.

Procedure

"One insight into asking good questions is to understand that research is about questions and not necessarily answers." (Yin, 2003, p. 60)

Based on the literature reviews and keeping in mind the research focus, a "mental framework" or guide was developed for the semi-structured interviews. Six main themes were included in this frame:

1. Teachers' goals when teaching for citizenship
2. Teachers' conceptualization and understanding of democracy and democratic citizenship education
3. Teachers' pedagogical approaches and practices when teaching for citizenship
4. Teachers' dealing with sensitive, hard or controversial issues when teaching for citizenship
5. Teachers' professional learning and preparation to teach citizenship education
6. Challenges to teaching citizenship in schools

The exact verbalized wording of the questions that corresponded to these themes differed according to the respondent and the context. Appendix (1) shows a list of sample questions that were asked. To make sure that the themes were fully covered and addressed, more than one question tackled one theme. When a theme was well addressed by an interviewee while addressing other issues, which often happens in a conversational mode, questions would be skipped. Some periphery interview questions were kept in case there was some extra time left or in case a participant showed an interest in keeping the conversation going, which was the case in several interviews and was always a welcome sign. These periphery questions still remained in the same domain of the themes mentioned above or an extension to them. For example, when several teachers indicated how addressing controversial issues in a diverse classroom was a major concern, one extra question attempted to elicit more information on issues of school diversity and identity.

Interviewees were contacted by e-mail to provide them with the consent form (appendix, 2) and further information about the research. They were also sent sample questions of the interview upon request. They were informed that those questions were only guidelines that were not to limit the conversional mode intended for the interview. Clear information was conveyed regarding the procedure of the interviews. The times and locations of the interviews were selected according to the preference and the convenience of the participants. In line with the naturalistic feature of the qualitative research, the researcher attempted to visit the schools or the premises of the participants for the interview. Most of the interviews with teachers happened at their schools. Interview timeframes ranged from 45 to 100 minutes.

The researcher was aware that the interview was not simply a data collection situation but "a social and frequently a political interaction" (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 151) in which the notion of power becomes an integral part. The researcher was aware that power could reside in both the interviewer who is scrutinizing others and the interviewees who may be more reserved and protective of what they say when they come from a high position (Cohen, et al., 2000).

To minimize unequal power relations, the researcher carefully evaluated each interview situation and intentionally emphasized a conversional mode of equal relations where the experience, knowledge and agency of the teachers were intensely highlighted, particularly when many exhibited insecurity regarding English language proficiency. The researcher also

highlighted her own language barriers. In a study addressing issues of power in cross-cultural research, Chen (2011) argues for the likely advantageous position of being a non-native language interviewer since she or he is seemingly in "a weaker position [which] makes it easier to elicit information from native interviewees" (p. 119). Chen (2011) addresses situations of L1 interviewer and L2 interviewee and L2 interviewer and L1 interviewee but does not thoroughly discuss the situation where the interviewer and the interviewee are both L2 speakers, which is the situation in this research. Based on Chen's (2011) conclusions and my experience and strategies in this research, I would argue that the cross-cultural and multilingual aspect of this research gave the researcher and the interviewees the advantageous position to probe for more information from the other without being so much intimidated or apologetic and was, thus, an added value to the richness of data.

Each interview was recorded using the Audacity software. Transcription followed the "clean read or smooth verbatim transcript" method (Mayring, 2014, p. 45), meaning the transcription was done word for word, but sounds like "ah", "em" and words like ("right", "you know", "yeah") were left out. Shortcuts and grammatically incorrect sentences were kept the same as much as possible to represent the raw data. Oftentimes, at the beginning or the end of the interview, the interviewee asked the researcher some personal questions about where she came from, her family, etc. Those parts were briefly paraphrased and were not transcribed word by word. The interview scripts without coding and comments had a total length of about 210 pages (written in Times New Roman, font size 12, single space format).

4.4.2. Complementary ways of data collection

The research also relied on examining documents, including the following:

1. The new curriculum of citizenship education, history and social studies, several classroom materials, several online teaching materials in Austria.
2. The National strategy on citizenship education, a school-based curricula of citizenship education, a school-based evaluation criteria document, and several classroom worksheets in Portugal.

The intention of looking into these documents was to have a thorough understanding of the domain of citizenship education on the formal level and the school-based level in each context and how it related to teachers' attitudes and practices. Google Translate as well as colleagues and supervisors were consulted when translating and interpreting the content of those materials retrieved in the first language of the country investigated.

The research also relied on observational data whenever possible to further understand the physical environment of the research contexts, including spaces, artefacts, posters, rules, etc. (Cohen et al. 2007). In Austria, four schools were visited to conduct interviews with teachers. Two of these schools offered the researcher the opportunity to attend classes and spend time in the school. Three schools were visited in Portugal to conduct interviews. Two of the schools allowed class attendance and observation. While doing observation, the researcher remained faithful to the naturalistic principle of the qualitative research by preserving and depicting the "real-life context" (Schreier, 2012) as much as possible. The researcher was given the chance to freely roam in the schools, to stay in the teachers' room of one school and

interact with other teachers and lunch with them, to interact with the students and speak with other teachers during the breaks, all of which contributed to adding more depth to the research when analyzing the data. Although the time dedicated to observation was limited (about 9 hours in Austria and 5 hours in Portugal), it was worthwhile and helped in providing useful information about the contexts involved. It also contributed to adding more participants and perspectives to the research data either by having the chance to schedule an interview with another teacher who happened to be there and showed interest and willingness to participate or simply by having informal conversations with other teachers. When attending a class, the researcher often sat at the back unless asked to sit somewhere else and interacted with the students and looked at their activities when invited to.

Besides the above, the research also included some data delivered via correspondences, pictures, informal conversations, school regulations, use of classroom space, visual artefacts that were noted down throughout the course of this research. Three of the schools visited were EDiTE partners, which made it easy for the researcher to communicate and schedule a visit, the selection of the other schools was random and was mainly influenced by having a contact teacher at the school. All the visits included the notification and the permission of the principals of the schools.

4.5. Data analysis

The research data was analysed using the qualitative content analysis (QCA) (Schreier, 2012), which is a flexible method that fits different theoretical and methodological approaches). The method of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) was also used as another flexible method to assist in the coding and the generating of categories. Using another method also aimed to have a "more indepth look" at parts of data that were "relevant or interesting" (Schreier, 2012, p. 57).

While qualitative content analysis was introduced as a response against the rigid design of the (quantitative) content analysis (Schreier, 2012), there exists a diversity of opinions on what qualitative content analysis indicates. For example, Mayring (2014), along his criticism of what he referred to as "the methodological dichotomization of qualitative and quantitative research", defines QCA "as a mixed methods approach" (containing qualitative and quantitative steps of analysis) and advocates common research criteria for qualitative and quantitative research (p. 6). This study, however, adopts the meaning of QCA employed by (Schreier, 2012) who considers QCA as a qualitative method "for describing the meaning of qualitative material [by] classifying material as instances of the categories of a coding frame (p. 1).

Situated within the qualitative paradigm, QCA is based on the assumption that data never speaks for itself and it does not have a specific meaning. Instead, "[m]eaning is something that we, the recipients, attribute to the words that we hear or read, to the images that we see. This is a complex process in which we bring together our perception of the material with our own individual background." (Schreier, 2012, p. 2) Objectivity does not apply since meaning is not something that is innate in a text, an audio, or an artefact, and since the researcher is taking an essential part in the meaning making. QCA, Schreier (2012) argues, is not suitable for highly standardized meaning but rather for qualitative research where data needs to be

understood and interpreted. One important difference between QCA and quantitative content analysis (which focuses on obvious, precise meaning), as suggested by Kracauer (1952), is that the focus of QCA is on "latent meaning, meaning that is not immediately obvious" (Schreier, 2012, p. 15).

The thematic analysis, "a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 79) to identify main themes in the qualitative data, also focused on latent meanings. The analysis goes beyond a semantic analysis and attempts a latent analysis, where the researcher goes further than the mere description of the data "to identify or examine the underlying ideas, assumptions, and conceptualisations – and ideologies – that are theorised as shaping or informing the semantic content of the data" (Braun & Clarke's, 2006, p. 84). With that in mind and adhering to the critical pedagogy framework, I paid special attention to agency, historical, social and political local and national contexts, non-verbal communication, social dynamics and issues of power relations to further uncover any latent implications.

The analysis was done manually. After going through the transcriptions and the observational and documentary data, I began summarising and paraphrasing parts of the data (Mayring (2014). I included summaries, abbreviated symbols, words or acronyms that I already defined, such as TD (teacher dispositions) to indicate, and relevant notes in comment boxes in the word documents. Some parts were highlighted or marked to indicate a potential quotation. All the comments, coded words, notes were later transferred onto a separate document to give an initial comprehensive idea of the data and give away to the categories to emerge. From this document, a coding frame was developed and I was able to establish some major themes to use in the proceeding process of segmentation. Being an important part of the QCA, the process of segmentation (Schreier, 2012) was helpful when dealing with large amounts of qualitative data. The data was divided into different segments (or units) that related to different preliminary/emergent categories. I created a Google Drive for each country data and included the segments to fit as subcategories or descriptions or quotations under the main categories developed. Segmentation followed a thematic criterion (Schreier, 2012) that looked at change in topic as the end of a unit and the beginning of another. The process underwent several revisions until a clear and focused segmentation was achieved. For example, during the first stage, examples of overlapping occurred and a segment that could fit under more than one category was placed under a residual category. Consequent revisions helped to subsume these segments under the most suitable category or to discard them when they appeared redundant. This process helped to compare between the categories, to develop new categories, to create further sub-categories, to combine two similar categories or to divide one category into two main categories or one main category and a sub-category. It is important to note that this process did not involve a mere cutting of segments out of contexts and placing them under a category. Contextual issues were considered to fully understand what was being said, such as the preceding interview question or the full interview answer. Although my analysis mainly followed an inductive, data-driven strategy to generate categories and subcategories, a concept-driven strategy was also adopted to assist the process of building my coding frame. Combining the two strategies is a process that is often used in QCA since a "purely data-driven coding frame will often not be feasible" since the research question "already specifies relevant dimensions" (Schreier, 2012, p. 106). In other words,

although the data guided my frame of codes, my research question, the thin-thick guide, previous studies and the interview guide also provided some insights and guidance and helped develop initial codes. This strategy is also referred to as an abductive approach to data where the researcher constantly moves back and forth between data and theory (Wodak, 2006). This allowed for constant editing, reinterpreting and rebuilding and deconstruction as emergent understandings became visible. Several reviews and examinations followed and the coding categories evolved into a list of themes and subthemes. It is also vital to note that the categories developed are not purely independent from each other or mutually exclusive. They overlap, interrelate and influence one another.

For this research, "coding was more than just paraphrasing [and] just noting concepts in the margins of the field notes or making a list of codes as in a computer programme. It involves interacting with data (analysis) using techniques such as asking questions about the data, making comparisons between data, and so on, and in doing so, deriving concepts to stand for those data, then developing those concepts in terms of their properties and dimensions." (Corbin & Strauss, 2008, p. 92) Thus, after looking into different layers and relations, the researcher started looking for different influences that shaped teachers' conceptions and practices at school. The researcher looked at the data within their national contexts and how different historical and political atmosphere could have had an impact teachers' opinions and articulations. Schools were regarded as products of the surrounding environment and the ensuing population of students present. Documents were also approached as discursive and cultural products of the local culture within an international and European framework of polices and recommendations on citizenship education.

4.6. Timetable summary

The first few months of this doctoral journey included continuous literature review of the area of teacher education and social studies in general with a focus on textbooks. After extensive reading, and seeking expert advice on identifying the main tensions in the field, I have decided to limit my research focus to the teaching of citizenship education with a focus on teachers' views and experiences. A rewarding internship at the Georg Eckert Institute and my participation in a project titled "Euro Views: Europe in Textbooks"[13] and other activities have also provided me with clearer visions about the prospect of my research. Toward the end of the first year, around March 2017, I developed a preliminary research plan and started contacting potential participants. I was on leave between April 2017 and February 2018. My data collection resumed in February 2018 and continued until June 2019, including the mobility period in Portugal (May 2018 until March 2019).

4.7. Researcher's positionality

Numerous researchers (Bourke, 2014; Dwyer and Buckle, 2009; Ganga and Scott, 2006; Psoinos, 2014) have addressed the topic of researcher's positionality within the qualitative research. As qualitative researchers, Dwyer and Buckle (2009) maintain:

[13] http://www.gei.de/en/projects/completed-projects/eurviews-europe-in-textbooks.html

> "[W]e are not separate from the study, with limited contact with our Participants. Instead, we are firmly in all aspects of the research process and essential to it. The stories of participants are immediate and real to us; individual voices are not lost in a pool of numbers. We carry these individuals with us as we work with the transcripts. The words, representing experiences, are clear and lasting. We cannot retreat to a distant 'researcher' role." (p. 61)

Bourke (2014) argues that identities of researchers and the participants "come into play via our perceptions, not only of others, but of the ways in which we expect others will perceive us." Therefore, considering the researcher's background is significant and "[j]ust as the participants' experiences are framed in social-cultural contexts, so too are those of the researcher" (Bourke, 2014, pp. 1f.). One important aspect of positionality is membership in the group that is being studied and whether the researcher is "an insider" or "an outsider" (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009, p. 55).

Being perceived an outsider from 'the periphery' (Tikly, 2004) and venturing to interrogate an area of education in the centre that is claimed to be in strong connection with Western ideals of enlightenment and democracy, I had noteworthy encounters and came across interesting questions and moments of reflection that might have also influenced the course of this study. Questions of entitlement and privilege were provoked. For example, while I had the right to address issues of injustice in my home country in my previous research, certain encounters in this research journey made me feel that I was not entitled to do the same in the centre, taking into account where I came from. In some cases, I had to make efforts to emphasise my professional, ethical and academic identity that was often submerged under my personal identity and being a Muslim woman from Syria, which was perceived as anti-democratic, anti-freedom, anti-equality, etc. For example, my commitment to education for democracy was subtly interrogated by one respondent because of my background that was associated with oppression, closed-mindedness, apathy, backwardness and autocracy.

Regardless of the above, I would argue that being an outsider researcher, belonging to a different culture, language and ethnic background of the contexts and participants researched (Ganga and Scott, 2006) involved many complexities and goes beyond an outsider-insider dichotomy. As a qualitative researcher, I attempted to challenge the "constructed dichotomies [of insider and outsider] and embrace and explore the complexity and richness of the space between entrenched perspectives" (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009, p. 62). Relevant here is the reference to the betweener position presented by Diversi & Moreira's (2009) to elaborate on my positioning in "the socially constructed, fluid space" from which I cast meaning to the encounters and experiences and shed light on other "layers of inbetweeness" in this research, including "interdisciplinarity, representational blurriness, and the politics of knowledge production" (p. 19).

Several experiences, linguistic and cultural issues, as well as being often asked about where I came from and my nationality made me aware of my position as an outsider researcher, belonging to a different cultural, linguistic ethnic and national background. However, I also felt at home when dealing with an area of education that I was passionate about. Being a teacher committed to continuous learning and transformation, I felt that I belonged when interacting with individuals who shared the same experiences and aspirations. I was then an insider when an Austrian teacher told me that as a professional in citizenship education and PhD student he

had more in common with me than he would have had with another fellow man of the same age and with the same eye colour.

All in all, I want to stress my commitment to a "post-nationalistic sense of diasporic, hybrid and nomadic identity" (Braidotti, 2006, p. 79) that is multi-layered, complex and ever-changing. My research adopts (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009) views on researcher positionality which acknowledges that:

> "As qualitative researchers we have an appreciation for the fluidity and multilayered complexity of human experience. Holding membership in a group does not denote complete sameness within that group. Likewise, not being a member of a group does not denote complete difference. It seems paradoxical, then, that we would endorse binary alternatives that unduly narrow the range of understanding and experience." (p. 60)

4.8. Ethical considerations

Throughout this research project, the researcher worked to ensure that all the procedures were in line with the ethical guidelines and rules in the two countries involved. Ensuring a quality research project went hand in hand with uncompromising guidelines to protect the participants involved. Being a part of the EDiTE project, the study reported detailed ethical information regarding data collection, retention, protection and others procedures in the deliverable (EDiTE-EJD WP1_D1.13) at the beginning of this research. The study received the ethical approval and a certificate of good standing from the research ethics committee at Innsbruck University. In Portugal, the researcher submitted an application that contained detailed information about the study, its aims, procedure, means of data collection, as well as procedures and timeframes of data storage, retention and destruction. The study was then registered and approved by the Direção-Geral da Educação with the number 0197700024.

Before finalizing and sharing the interview consent form with potential interviewees, the researcher consulted the two academic supervisors and the ethical advisor of the home university to double-check the wording and the details. The consent form, which included information about the EDiTE programme, the researcher's project, interview procedure and anonymity, etc. was shared with participants by e-mail prior to the interview. All of the participants were adults and voluntarily accepted to take part in the research. They were given the chance to withdraw their participation or any input at any time. The researcher developed a protocol to keep the anonymity of the participants by assigning symbols and numbers to them (e.g. PT.T.4). The researcher respected the privacy of the participants and never attempted to elicit any information they did not feel comfortable with.

The researcher maintained a good relationship with the participants and, in a few cases, informal, friendly meetings and lunches occurred upon the request of the interviewees. In line with the qualitative research and the need to consider reflexivity, the researcher aimed to fulfil an ethical responsibility characterised by dealing with the participants as "experts" and "partners during the research process" (Schreier, 2012, p. 23). All personal data or any kind of information that could identity a participant or a school were kept confidential. Most of the documents analysed were publicly available online and the ones shared by the schools contained no sensitive or private information. The audio files and the transcription texts and

other research-related notes were saved on the researcher's personal laptop, her office computer at her home university in Austria, and a secured private Google Drive folder, all secured with a private password.

4.9. Validity and reliability

Validity and reliability are important criteria to assess the quality of research. However, while their meanings are straightforward in quantitative research, there is ambiguity and disagreement about their application in qualitative research. Other terminologies have been suggested to be used by qualitative researchers such as "authenticity", "understanding", "fidelity" (Cohen et al., 2007) and "transparency" (Schreier, 2012). While reliability means that your findings should be mistake-free, and thus repeatable, such a definition is not applicable to contextualized and subjective qualitative findings. While validity is mainly concerned in how an instrument "measures what it purports to measure," in qualitative research "validity might be addressed through the honesty, depth, richness and scope" of the data (Cohen, et al., 2007, p. 133), and through "ensuring reliability in terms of stability (consistency, equivalence) (Cohen, et al., 2007, p. 144). Schreier (2012) argues that validity in qualitative content analysis is used in a broad sense, which includes reliability as a criterion that "translates as consistency [where] a frame of codes is not reliable or unreliable but rather to what extent it is reliable" (p. 167). In other words, the consistency and soundness of the research are "a matter of degree" and "the extent that the categories adequately represent the concepts under study" (p. 175). Validity, to Cohen et al. (2007) is also regarded "as a matter of degree" and so the aim of this research is "to minimize invalidity and maximize validity" (p. 133) as much as possible.

In this research, invalidity was avoided by minimizing the potential impact of bias during collecting data. During interviews, the researcher avoided seeking answers that would fit predefined expectations and instead let the interviewees freely express their opinions. Although interview questions differed in form and wording from one person to another, a stable and clear frame of themes existed to ensure consistency. The researcher kept in touch with some interviewees and sought clarification from them regarding their interview material. Another way to maximize validity was using, when possible, the technique of the "validation interview," which is "a dialogue between interviewee and interviewer intended to confirm, substantiate, verify or correct researchers' findings" (Buchbinder, 2011, p. 107). For example, two interviewees were e-mailed some interpretation of their input to provide feedback. In another instance, the interviewee and the researcher had an informal meeting to discuss some findings. This technique happened with the interviewees who showed keenness and willingness to keep in touch and learn about the findings of the research.

A triangulation was used to increase the research validity by collecting data from more than one source and using more than one method (Yin, 2003). Using two methods of data analysis as well as an abductive approach helped to look back and forth between data and theory and to avoid a purely inductive or deductive approach and the researcher's bias. Validity was also maintained by having two supervisors review the research as well as receiving feedback from colleagues and other external researchers during different seminars and conferences. Looking

at negative cases that did not fit the pattern was also used to avoid invalidity and to seek a more in-depth interpretation of the data (Corbin & Strauss, 2008).

To further ensure the reliability and transparency of this research, the researcher kept a record of her activities and decisions. A Google Document was created to record various kinds of notes, memos, reflective journals and diaries, notes from school visits and class observation, informal conversation (unrecorded interviews) and others, which also allowed for reflection and tracking changes and crucial moments of the research journey.

4.10. Limitations and constraints

The research acknowledges the limitation and shortcomings of some methods and decisions. For example, conducting four interviews online may have compromised on the authenticity of the interview as a social interaction of human beings with noteworthy gestures and body language. In addition, the intended smooth conversational manner of the interviews might have been compromised by having a few poor connection interruptions during the online interviews. Further, not having a set of fixed questions in each interview could have entailed the risk of inconsistency or missing input.

Although I referred to the attractiveness of doing research in times of change, it is important to mention that times of change and reform contributed to the uncertainty and wavering answers from respondents. Many interviewees thought it was too early to judge or provide clear answers. In addition, while I highlighted the advantage of cross-cultural and cross-linguistic research in the methodology chapter, I would also like to mention some drawbacks, which might have limited this research. Linguistic barriers may have prevented respondents from fully expressing their opinions or further elaborating on some issues. Also, some terms translated differently in different contexts. For example, the word “evaluation” in the Austrian context is not equal to student assessment or grading. Another point to consider is the fact that the researcher did not speak the first language of the respondent, which may have influenced establishing a common ground of trust. Linguistic barriers have also limited the researchers in terms of research topic and methodological choices.

Finally, the topic of this research might have discouraged some potential participants from taking part in the research or answering some specific questions, since citizenship education, for many, involved the discussion of discomforting issues such as conflicts, political parties, sexual issues, etc.

Chapter 5: Teaching Citizenship Education in Austria[14]

5.1. Country overview and the education system

Austria is a federal state that has changed from a large, multiethnic empire to a small democratic country consisting of nine provinces (*Länder*). The country's bureaucratic heritage, aiming at uniformity, has "outlived two world wars and still influences policy making in Austria" (Schratz, 2012, p. 96). Due to the historically strong role of the provinces in the political life of the centralized system in Austria[15], a general opinion of the country considers it "the most centralized federal state – or the most federal centralized state" (Schratz, 2012, p. 96).

The strong distinct identities of the provinces in Austria have traditionally created tension between the central government and the regions and have made it difficult to implement national policies or reforms without the agreement and involvement of the regional partners (Melchior, 2004; Devos & Schratz, 2012). Devos & Schratz (2012) argue that dynamics of this kind "produce a delicate balance between center and periphery" resulting in "many actors, numerous parallel structures, and little congruence in task-orientation and responsibility" (p. 129). What makes things more complex, Lassnigg (2016) argues, is the existence of three different overlapping types of governances: a state bureaucracy, a federalism of the provinces, and a strong system of corporatism, based on interest organizations such as the chamber of commerce, the chamber of agriculture, etc.

To ensure that no government would impose its ideological dominance and ideology on education, a 1962 parliamentary decision stipulated that any law involving schools should have a two-third majority to pass. This has also necessitated that multiple groups and actors are consulted with the introduction of any educational change. This has contributed to making any reform or change a very slow and rare phenomenon. Lassnigg (2016) highlights the structural complexity and hybridity of education governances in Austria, which, he thinks, has made educational change impossible to achieve: "The responsibilities are interlocking, so there is no clear 'division of labour' between the different levels. The central as well as the regional state ('Länder') level both have some legislative and regulatory responsibilities, and at the regional level there are two kinds of authorities with interlocking responsibilities (a federal agency, 'Landeschulrat', which is linked to regional politics, and an office of the regional government responsible for schools, 'Amt der Landesregierung'). This means that the legal responsibilities are distributed in a complex way so that different

[14] A summary of this chapter was published in the open-access final EDiTE book which can be found at: http://www.edite.eu/news/2019/11/edite-final-book-has-been-published/.

[15] Austria is considered a federal yet centralized country, scoring 4,5 out of 5 points on the Lijphart index of federalism, where 5 signifies the highest degree possible for a federal structure (Lijphart 1999, p. 189, cited by Melchior, 2004, p. 11).

governance structures arise in different regions despite their small scale, influenced by the varying political majorities" (pp. 12-13).

The Austrian system separates students into alternative tracks at an early age. In general, the public is supportive of this policy. Proponents of this system believe in what Devos & Schratz (2012) call "a national myth" […] which is focused on a conviction that a multitracked school system tailored to the individual student is the ideal way to guarantee the best education for all children. Starting the streaming of students at the age of ten makes it one of the few countries in the world believing in early selection as a philosophy and as having an educational value of its own" (p. 128). Although research has established the influence of the Austrian selective system on reproducing injustice and inequality and has stirred political debate, Schratz (2012) maintains that comprehensive solutions are not likely to happen anytime in the near future.

Due to early tracking and different school types, the Austrian educational system is described as highly stratified and with complex education pathways. Compulsory education starts at the age of six in primary school and lasts for four years. Most primary schools (*Volksschulen*) function on a half-day basis. Primary schools are the only common type of school where pupils from different social and ethnic backgrounds learn together. Still, primary schools are often area-specific and their population live in the same neighbourhoods (Schnell, 2014). After four years of primary school, at around age 10, and based on their grades and, in some cases, on the recommendation from teachers, children are separated and directed either to a four-year *Neue Mittelschule* (NMS; lower "practical" secondary school) or to an eight-year *Gymnasium* (AHS; *Allgemeinbildende höhere Schule*, a traditional "academic" secondary school). The academic track prepares students to continue to the *Matura*, the highest certificate of general education in Austria (Fellner, Altrichter, & Herzog-Punzenberger, 2017).

Beside this important transition after leaving primary schools, graduates from the "lower-ability track" have the chance to move up into the academic track. However, results indicate that the chances of upward transfer are low, with Austria having the third-lowest level of upward transfer among OECD countries (Nusche, Radinger, Busemeyer, & Theisens, 2016). Schnell (2014) explains that "[e]arly selection might not be a problematical institutional feature if the degree of permeability was higher at a later stage, and if opportunities for upward movement remained available to students who had been streamed earlier into lower-ability tracks" (p. 162). Student's socio-economic backgrounds have a major impact on educational achievement and progression in this early tracking system (Nusche et al., 2016).

Punzenberger, Bruneforth & Lassnigg (2012) explain that "a third of all children at the end of primary school (year four) belong to at least one of the three educationally high-risk social groups: parents with low education, parents with low occupational status and/or non-German-speaking homes" (p. 5). Bruneforth, Weber & Bacher (2012) also point to the inequality of opportunity in school choice related to socio-economic status and education background of the parents. They note that "the chance of pupils developing inadequate competencies increases markedly in schools that are considered to have a difficult social context" (p. 24). They also argue that area of residence is an issue due to the lack of AHS schools in rural areas, which makes it unlikely that children from these areas have a chance to go to an AHS

school. Eder & Hofmann (2012) draw attention to the contradiction between considering schools as places for learning democratic competences in Austria and the lack of free choice for students when it comes to choosing the school that best corresponds to their interests.

5. 2. Citizenship education in Austria

After World War II, Austria attempted to reinstall its educational orientation from before 1938. Some initiatives set by the "Federal Department for Public Enlightenment, Education and Cultural Affairs" aimed to highlight the importance of education for "democratic thinking" and to edit the subjects that were used as political propaganda during the war, such as languages, biology and history. However, these attempts were put on hold after the first elections and the building of a coalition, and therefore "the discussion of the dimension of the penetration of National Socialist ideas within the educational system – as well as within the teaching staff – receded into the background for the years to follow. Citizenship education in these years was based on the 'General ordinance on Civic Education'[16], which put a special emphasis on the emotional attachment to the 'native homeland', including one knowing its culture, respecting its symbols etc." (Haupt & Turek, 2015, p. 2) Fostering attachment feelings toward the homeland in the post-war era in Austria, according to Lamb-Faffelberger (2003), was necessary in an attempt to establish a national identity different from the German.

Ongoing discussions on the political, educational and civil society level in the 1960s, influenced by the Frankfurt School and the visible efforts made by the Germans to promote citizenship education led to a series of reforms toward an education for democracy in Austria. The following summarises the reforms presented by Haupt & Turek (2015), as illustrated in table (6).

Table 6. Summary of reforms of Citizenship education in Austria

Year	Reform / initiative
1970	• The school subject "History and Social Studies – Geography and Economics" for Secondary school was implemented to contribute to a "contemporary education of citizens" and to the development of "critical judgment" as well as "rationally guided decisions" about political, social and historical issues. • The integration of citizenship education into several University Colleges of Teacher Education
1973	• The establishment of a department for citizenship education within the Federal Ministry of Education

[16] The word "Staatsbürgerkunde" that focuses on educating loyal "state residents/citizens" is translated as "civic education" whereas the word "Politische Bildung" that puts an emphasis on "learning democracy" is translated as "citizenship education" (Haupt & Turek, 2015, p. 2).

1976	• The subject "Citizenship Education" was introduced for vocational school/apprenticeship (*Berufsschulen*), replacing the subject "State and Society Education."
1978	• The "General Ordinance on the Cross-curricular Educational Principle of Citizenship Education" (*Grundsatzerlass Politische Bildung*) was issued.
2007-2008	• New department for the teaching of citizenship education at the University of Vienna • A new combined school subject "History, Social Studies and Citizenship Education" was implemented starting in grade 8. • The "Competency Model for Citizenship Education" was introduced. • A project fund supported innovative school projects fostering "learning and living democracy."
2015-2016	• A draft of a new curriculum for the subject "History, Social Studies and Citizenship Education[17]" for grade 6 to grade 8 was piloted for the school year 2015/2016. • Updating the "General Ordinance on the Cross-curricular Educational Principle of Citizenship Education"

Source: Author, adapted from Haupt & Turek (2015)

Citizenship education officially started in Austria in 1978 as a cross-curricular theme for all types of schools and levels, embedded in certain principles covering the knowledge, skills and attitudes. Initially, the proposal by the Federal Ministry of Education was to introduce a compulsory subject "Citizenship Education" for all types of schools. Several groups, including those representing other subjects who did not want to lose class time as well as some parties that expressed concern over the possibility of teachers politically indoctrinating students, resisted that proposal. Eventually, the "General Ordinance on the Cross-curricular Educational Principle of Citizenship Education" (*Grundsatzerlass Politische Bildung*) was issued, emphasizing learning democracy instead of learning about the government. The ordinance, which was later reformed in 2015, entails that all teachers, even at primary level, are encouraged to teach citizenship education regardless of what subject they are teaching (Haupt & Turek, 2015).

In line with the Austrian election reform in 2007, the voting age for young people was lowered from 18 to 16 years. That was a part of a comprehensive "Democracy Initiative" that was launched by the Federal Ministry of Education and the Federal Ministry of Science and Research. A project fund was created to support innovative school projects fostering "learning and living democracy." Another contribution was the establishment of a new department for the teaching of citizenship education at the University of Vienna. Further, citizenship education was offered as part of a new integrated school subject, named "History, Social Studies and Citizenship Education," as of 2008. A "Competency Model for

[17] https://www.ris.bka.gv.at/Dokumente/BgblAuth/BGBLA_2016_II_113/BGBLA_2016_II_113.html

Citizenship education was established in 2008 to strengthen competence-oriented teaching and learning and support active citizenship by encouraging young people to get actively involved in democracy and society as a whole. The focus was that learning activities should be closely linked to the lives and experiences of the students (Haupt & Turek, 2015). Various curricula with regard to citizenship education exist in the Austrian system. Schools are given the freedom to offer citizenship education as a separate subject but very few have chosen that option due to time limitation. Citizenship education is offered as an independent subject only in vocational schools, which mainly address topics related to understanding the laws and institutions of the government. Citizenship education is often combined with other subjects, such as history, geography, law, or economics. The number of hours dedicated to citizenship education within these combined subjects also differs from one school to another. The topics that are usually covered are related to democracy, human rights, justice, cultural diversity, anti-discrimination, the political system, international institutions, globalization, the European Union, and Austrian national institutions. While citizenship education is taught as an integrated subject along with history in the lower and upper secondary levels, a subject "General and Social Studies" (*Sachunterricht*) at the primary level offers several possibilities to integrate citizenship education by addressing local and cultural issues (Haupt & Turek, 2015).

Debates continued on the necessity to further reform citizenship education in Austria. This was especially due to two developments. First, the lowering of the voting age to 16 required that citizenship education be offered earlier to ensure that all young people are knowledgeable, active and responsible citizens. Second, the rise and re-emergence of international challenges, such as violent extremism, populism and xenophobia, highlighted the need to invest more efforts into citizenship education. The latest 2016 reforms started officially with the announcement to reform in the work programme[18] of the government, which was formed after the election of 2013. There was a belief that citizenship education, which was integrated with history and was taught mostly by history teachers, did not receive enough attention. Some stakeholders demanded that citizenship education be taught as a separate subject. However, that would have required taking teaching hours away from other subjects. A consensus was reached to re-formulate the curriculum in terms of compulsory modules, two of which deal exclusively with citizenship education. Two more refer to both citizenship education and history, and the remaining five relate only to history. Thus, citizenship education has remained integrated with history, but now teachers are obliged to cover all nine models. The reform further upgraded citizenship education by having it start at grade 6 (second class of ISCED 2) instead of grade 8 (last class of ISCED 2), which ensured that students receive citizenship education before the voting age. This latest reform also targeted the content of the curriculum. Since citizenship education in Austria is integrated with history, the majority of the content reforms had to do with history. Most of the topics that existed in the old curriculum are still present in the new one. However, some topics are more visible now, such as human rights and a European and global outlook (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2017).

[18] The work programme of the Austrian Federal Government can be found in full (in English) here: https://www.bka.gv.at/DocView.axd?CobId=53588

An expert working group, including about 20 members, was formed with various stakeholders, such as representatives of the ministry, regional education authorities, teachers and head teachers, Polis (the Austrian Centre for Citizenship Education in Schools[19]), the National Youth Council of Austria, and others. The reform took about a year and a half and was piloted for the academic year 2015/16 in approximately 40 lower secondary education schools in all nine regions (*Länder*) of Austria. Throughout the piloting phase, the participating schools and teachers were supported by the ministry, the Austrian Centre for Citizenship Education (Polis), the authors of the curriculum and the teaching colleges. Teachers were helped with materials, particularly since textbooks were not ready to be used during the pilot phase. Three meetings were held in the city of Salzburg, between October 2015 and May 2016, where teachers were given the opportunity to air their views, to ask questions and provide feedback. Participating schools and teachers were also given the chance to send the ministry reports about the curriculum. However, some teachers felt that their views were not considered. The curriculum was slightly modified after the testing phase. The new textbooks and teacher handbooks were available by the start of the 2017/18 school year (European Commission/EACEA/Eurydice, 2017).

Major goals of citizenship education in schools in Austria, as stated in the 2015 General Ordinance, are that citizenship education:

- "offers an important contribution to the stability and development of democracy and human rights;
- empowers individuals to recognize social structures, power relationships and the potential for further development, and to examine underlying interests and values, as well as to evaluate and to change them if need be in terms of their own opinions;
- demonstrates democratic means of participation on all social and political levels and enables individuals to take an active part as individuals, as members of social groups, or as a part of society;
- promotes an interest in social issues and the readiness to participate in political life in order to advocate one's own interests, the concerns of others, and matters of general welfare;
- addresses fundamental political questions, e.g. the legitimation of political power and its control, a just distribution of resources, a responsible and resource-friendly approach to nature and the environment, the equality of political rights, etc.;
- enables individuals to recognize, understand and evaluate different political concepts and alternatives, and leads to a critical and reflected engagement with one's own values and the political beliefs of others;
- is based on democratic principles and values such as peace, freedom, equality, justice and solidarity; in this context, overcoming prejudice, stereotypes, racism, xenophobia and antisemitism as well as sexism and homophobia is a specific aim;
- highlights the role of Austria in Europe and globally, and communicates an understanding of existential and global relationships and problems of humanity;

[19] *Polis* is the central education service institution for citizenship education, providing an information and advisory platform for teachers, students and material developments.

- shows that a just order of peace and a fair distribution of resources are necessary for humanity's survival, and that these demand a global, concerted effort, but also need to be understood as a personal obligation" (Haupt & Turek, 2015, pp. 3-4).

The General Ordinance also stresses the importance of some competences such as expert knowledge, methodological competence, judgement and agency. Citizenship education should also enable students to critically approach media content and presentation. Schools' democratic structures are considered essential for fostering citizenship education. The Ministry of Education also released a general ordinance on project-based forms of education (*Grundsatzerlass zum Projektunterricht*), which lists aims related to citizenship education (Haupt & Turek, 2015).

5.2.1. Citizenship education and teacher education in Austria:

Student teachers can start teaching with a Bachelor's degree, but have to complete a Master's within five years (PPMI, 2017). Citizenship education is integrated within initial teacher education courses for specialists in history, geography, philosophy, ethics/religion, social studies, or economics. In-service teacher training is offered (often on a voluntary basis) via workshops and trainings offered by colleges, universities and other educational institutions as well as non-governmental organizations (European Commission/ EACEA/Eurydice, 2017). Ongoing debates still argue for a separate subject on citizenship in schools along with the already existing cross-curricular principle and the integrated one. The argument is that implementing the separate subject would have a positive impact on teacher training, by facilitating more standardized and consistent contents within teacher training courses (Haupt & Turek, 2015).

The distribution of responsibilities between different levels of governance led to the creation of two different categories of teachers comprising different structures of industrial relations, wages, and employment conditions (Lassnigg, 2016). A 2016 reform of the "New Teacher Education" (*Pädagoginnenbildung NEU*) was introduced to tackle differences in teacher education. Before the reform, *Landeslehrer*, teachers of primary schools and lower secondary general schools (NMS) were educated at University Colleges of Teacher Education (*Pädagogische Hochschule*, PHs) and were governed by the provinces, whereas teachers teaching at the AHS were governed by the federal state (*Bundeslehrer*) and received their education at the universities. Starting with the school year 2015/2016, the law was launched with the aim of enhancing the standardization of teacher education and establishing a close cooperation of University Colleges of Teacher Education and the universities to address issues of differences and divisions in teacher education and to encourage mobility between the schools according to the age of the students rather than school type (Symeonidis, 2018).

The 2013 Quality Assurance Council (QSR) for teacher education referred to four competences that are to be included in teacher education: 1) general pedagogical competence; 2) subject and didactical competence; 3) diversity and gender competence; and 4) social competence (PPMI, 2017). While many course curricula require students to pass courses in the field of gender equality and diversity, specialization programmes at Klagenfurt University

and Innsbruck[20] University have included significant research on diversity, multiculturalism and discrimination (*Die Kärntner Volkshochschulen*, 2016)

Teacher education programmes have recently started to teach student teachers about the principles of the Beutelsbach Consensus, which was the result of a 1976 conference hosted by Baden-Württemberg Agency for Civic Education in Germany. Three principles were put forward to inhibit indoctrination and the use of education as a political propaganda, which was a great concern following World War II. Wehling (1977), who was taking minutes during the meeting, added a question mark to the consensus ("Konsens à la Beutelsbach?") because it was intended as a proposal only. However, the consensus has become a generally accepted principle of civics instruction in Germany and the German-speaking countries (Reinhardt, 2016). The first principle prohibits indoctrination by demanding that teachers must not overwhelm the students with any political opinions or values. The second principle concerns controversial issues, which have to be approached controversially by presenting a variety of perspectives. The third proposes that students should be put in a position to analyze a political situation and their own personal interests as well as to seek ways to have an effect on given political realities in view of these interests. Such an objective strongly emphasizes the acquisition of operational skills, which follows logically from the first two principles set out above (Reinhardt, 2016).

Reinhardt (2016) discusses some criticism to the third principle, which focuses exclusively on the individual without taking into account the wider community. She thinks that emphasis could be due to the aim of the Beutelsbach educators to reject subordination or conformity and to empower students to stand up for their own interests at a time when advocacy groups were not as present and effective as today. The downside of it, however, is "the ruthless assertion of self-interest without consideration of the interests of others or a notion of the common good" (Reinhardt, 2016, pp. 11-12). Reinhardt (2016) presents a revision of this principle put forward by Schneider (1996):

> "Students (as well as adults) should be enabled to analyze political problems and to see things from the perspective of those affected by them, as well as to seek ways to contribute to solutions to such problems in view of their own interests while taking into account their shared responsibility for society as a whole" (Schneider, 1996, p. 201, in Reinhardt, 2016, p. 12).

5. 3. Presentation and discussion of the research findings

5. 3. 1. Citizenship education between teachers' preparation and dispositions

In relation to teaching citizenship education, respondents highlighted several aspects of what they thought was characteristics of being a "good" teacher. Many teachers saw it was logical that social studies teachers, particularly history teachers, are given the task of teaching

[20] The Research Centre on Migration and Globalisation provides an example, see https://www.uibk.ac.at/migration-globalization/index.html.en

citizenship, since they have the pedagogical competences needed, such as critical thinking and engagement of complexity and controversy. Some were very critical of the cross-curricula approach and one teacher labelled it as "one of the most dangerous things in Austria."

> *There is a reason why I studied at the university to teach the Holocaust. I think political and civic education should be given to teachers who are trained that education. I think it is very dangerous to teach political education if you are not a Politsche Bildung teacher. (AT.T.3)*

Another teacher explained how a training course she took has made her "more confident" after spending time with "very good trainers, very skilled political educators of the university and journalists" (AT.T.8). While some considered their education and training as the number one factor that makes one a "good" citizenship education teacher, others emphasized their own disposition to teach this subject. One teacher thinks it is a "50/50" ratio, giving equal importance to both personal inclination and teacher training. Although training, access to quality materials, and the overall school system were all noted as key to teachers' "success" in delivering citizenship education in school, one prominent aspect that was stressed by the majority of interviewees was that of a teacher's dispositions, beliefs, passions and commitment, which was capable of making a teacher of any subject a "good" citizenship teacher:

> *I think it is my background and not only the education. (AT.T.12)*

> *I think it comes more with the personal approach to politics, you have to be interested in that to teach that properly but if you don't why become a teacher for that. (AT.T.3)*

> *No, [training is not enough]. I think if you are not a political person, you don't have enough passion to give this fire to the pupils, if you are not interested, I think it is impossible to make the pupils interested. (AT.T. 9)*

> *Yes I feel prepared for that because I am convinced I have a very humanistisch approach toward things and I think this is the most important thing. (AT.T. 6)*

> *It depends on teachers' own interest. (AT.T.7)*

The above were some responses that highlight the role of personal inclination and interest that drive engagement and commitment. One teacher educator explained that the teaching of citizenship education was "dependent on the engagement of the teachers so if they are willing to do something it is very much possible but if they are not willing, nothing happens" *(AT.TE.1).* One emphasized that citizenship education is based on the teachers' "own special engagement with that subject," "personal point of view," "and being keen on that" (AT.NG.1), all of which are important to motivate teachers to look for and prepare materials, attend training, which is not compulsory at the moment, and look for opportunities inside and outside the school for engaging the students.

> *I did a master programme in civics but I think this is not the one and only way to teach civics. It depends on the class, on the age of the students on the topic on the pre-knowledge to bring in so you always have to adjust. I have modules for teaching one topic they were perfect to teach in one class but in the other class they don't work so you always have to adjust. (AT.T.1)*

The above excerpt is intriguing. While the skills and competences that the teacher mentions, such as navigating topics according to contexts and students, are supposed to be delivered and can be acquirable in a training or teacher education program, the teacher relates them to her own "judgment" or "wisdom", which no training can provide.

What does that mean for teacher education? If teachers' values and dispositions are vital to teaching citizenship, can they be taught or cultivated? And are they addressed enough in teacher education?

5. 3. 2. Public confusion between political education and political party education

On the one hand, there is a public belief that citizenship education in Austria works to serve the agenda of certain political parties. "There is still some skepticism in Austria because some people might still think 'oh citizenship education is the teacher is not well trained and they are politically influencing the pupils and we don't want any discussion about political parties because that is dangerous'," one representative of an NGO that provides training and materials for citizenship education in Austria explained. The NGO representative proceeded to talk about regular public interrogation of the organization:

> *One of the questions we hear almost 24/7 from many people, no matter if they are parents, pupils, or teachers – well teachers a little bit less, but still, grown up people, they ask: from which party we are from. So this is what we hear really often. I think there is a common sense that when parents hear Politsche Bildung, they think it would be a good thing but there is a strong idea that it is linked to a political party. (AT.NG. 1)*

On the other hand, on the formal and policy level, citizenship education curricula and topics require teachers to address issues related to elections and party politics. This entails that students have the opportunities to learn about the opinions and goals of all the political parties in Austria. In many cases, the term political and the concept of political education was strongly limited to party politics in the data analyzed. One teacher presented her opinion of what she thinks is the purpose of teaching citizenship education in schools:

> *When it comes to the importance of political science I think every party in Austria wants their voters to be good citizens in some way or a good voter for them in the best case and that is why they are teaching political science and citizenship education in schools, that's my opinion. (AT.T.3)*

The confusion between political education and party-politics education is mainly reflected in teachers' inconsistency regarding their conceptualization of what political education is. All

the interviewees acknowledged that citizenship education should not only deal with party politics, yet political parties' topics, including election campaigns and parties' agendas, reactions and polices dominated the discussion when speaking about teaching goals, activities and topics addressed in the classroom. One teacher explained her aims by connecting it to what she considered "the aims of political education in Austria."

> *My main aims depending on the main aims of Politsche Bildung in Austria, mainly feeling responsible for the political system in Austria. I want students to be interested in politics and to have very critical minds to look at parties and what is going on and the critical side of media and political parties and be able to look at different positions and then find their own solutions. The second aim is, now they have the Innsbruck election and only a small percent went to elections, I would like that my students go to elections. I want them to take part in political issues. (AT.T.7)*

Another interviewee envisions a good citizen as someone "who takes part in politics" *(AT.TE1)*, then proceeding to explain "politics" as the act of taking part in elections and the political system in Austria. In some cases, teachers revealed that their students were interested in political parties and always asked for further information, which could also illustrate students' conceptualization of the term "political" influenced by the dominant discourse of the term used in citizenship education programmes. One teacher found it surprising that her students were always asking for more information and activities about political parties although she made sure they were well informed. Through their journals, she explains, the majority of the students wrote about the need to learn more about political parties in the classroom (AT.T.9).

The following provides an opinion regarding young people's interest in "politics" these days in relation to a polarization of party political agendas and aims, which, according to the participant below, could lead to effective and fruitful participation in citizenship education:

> *In the past it was often said that young people are not interested in politics. Probably they are not interested in some of the politicians but if they ask them they are interested in politics in their own life circle. This is one point. On the other hand, it seems to me that they are not interested in politics if they have the feeling they cannot influence on politics and I think, probably a political scientist could explain it a little bit more with a scientific background, but to my feeling, it seems that the new government built in 2017, a year before the young people had the feeling that they can't take influence on politics because of something like a flying carpet and conflicts between the government where they could take influence. Since the new government, there is the block of the government and the block of the opposition and it is much clear now what are the pillars of the government and what are the pillars of the oppositions. Before that it was not clear. Now I think they can find more distances between the blocks and suddenly they are interested. Many of them are in the opposition and going to demonstrations against the government. (AT. P. 1)*

Much can be inferred from the excerpt above, however it was mainly presented to illustrate the significant connection between political education and civic engagement and political party education in the Austrian context on the public, policy and school practice level.

While political party education, studying the structure of the political system and law, is an important dimension of citizenship education and can lead to rich discussions in the classroom, it is important that teachers go beyond the simple naming and listing of formal institutions and political parties' campaigns. The above could be discussed in relation to the country's heritage of being a party-state, where party politics play a major role in public life.

5. 3. 3. Tendency toward a personally responsible conceptualization of citizen

Teachers' conceptualizations of the good citizen tend to mainly align with the personally responsible and participatory types of citizen proposed by Westheimer & Kahne (2004), as opposed to the justice-oriented citizen. A good citizen is someone who is rational, outspoken, respectful, takes part in a community service, has his or her own independent opinion, defends his or her opinion, thinks critically, is interested in politics and takes part in elections and decision-making, is a good public speaker, etc.

> *I think my most important aim is to make my pupils critical thinkers. (AT. T. 9)*

> *The main point is to make [students] active citizens, to enable students, pupils politically to understand politics to have their own opinion to defend their own opinions their own interest that would be the main principle and to be able to make political statements to understand political manifesto and so on. (AT. TE.1)*

> *I want to educate critical thinkers who are proud of what they learn and to dare to deal with political things and to go to elections and things like that, to be active citizens. (AT. T. 8)*

> *A good citizen for me is a person who is interested in the political surrounding […and] he has to inform himself from newspaper etc. and he should go to election […] he has to take part in the greater process. (AT. T.7)*

One teacher reflected how the aims of citizenship education has changed throughout history. Up until 1970s,

> *it was very important to educate citizens who work for the country who obey, who function as citizens and not to think for themselves and have their own opinion and this had changed so far a little bit so one of the principles is to strengthen their own opinion or how to develop their own opinion. (AT. T. 1).*

The teacher's reflection provides an argument of how the critical and enlightened individuals were emancipated from the shackles of strict obedience to the nation. The individualistic approach is often linked to the rational subject of the Enlightenment (Biesta & Lawy, 2006), who is able to explain the world, gain autonomy and intervene actively. In fact, the body that was in charge of putting forward the first steps of citizenship education in Austria was called the "Federal Department for Public Enlightenment, Education and Cultural Affairs." One teacher educator describes the Enlightenment rationale in the aims of *Politsche Bildung* in Austria:

> *The most important aim is for all educational things is to get something like the enlightenment for all students and this is the thing I think the top goal or aim for Politsche Bildung in Austria. There are some other aims like make people more active in participating in election especially but also in civic institutions or in life. Besides that there are also things like people should acquire some competences and how to use the brain [...but] if you talk about the Austrian system, the aim is something like enlightenment, yes the ability to analyze what is going on in the world and find your own opinion. (AT. TE. 2)*

This approach proves problematic within the current framework for expecting students to fit into predefined traits, which was also implied in some responses that focused on socialization and stated that the purpose of education was "to socialize young people, to make young people fit for society, this means in our case for a democratic society, I think that's a very important point" (AT.TE.1).

The way a good citizen is conceptualized by the majority of teachers disregards a lot of social and political factors that hinder students' participation in society. For example, there is so much emphasis by teachers that voting in an election is kind of a rite of passage for being a good citizen. While participation in elections is truly an important endeavour in a democracy, one needs to consider that not all students are legal citizens of the country of residence, whether temporary or long term. Not to mention other personal and social factors that may hinder students from taking part in the process. Therefore, it could be argued that this kind of conceptualization is linked to the expectations of certain identities and actions without politicizing the process. By emphasizing the individualistic approach and ignoring the societal and structural factors that inhibit or encourage students' choice, disposition and engagement, citizenship education risk being unreflective and apolitical

Example: *An apolitical approach to ecological issues*

Aims related to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG), including environmental and ecological concerns, are some prominent topics in a citizenship education course or programme in Austrian schools. They are also one of the principles of the cross-curricula tradition in Austria, meaning all teachers of all other subjects are also expected and encouraged to address issues related to the environment in their classes. At a first glance, it seems as if such topics offered a convenient and safe space for teachers and students to discuss common issues concerning all human beings sharing this planet. In other words, there is less space for discomforting and controversial issues like other citizenship education topics. An interview with a teacher educator highlighted some points regarding ecological issues and the way they are addressed in many schools. He claims that although there is a good intention behind including these topics in schools, the inclusion of these topics is often depoliticized and fails to engage students in controversies.

> *It is easier to speak about ecological issues in citizenship education because of the illusion that they are not topics of citizenship education […]. I am skeptical about the idea of teaching for sustainable development. But I think there is a good intention behind it. Very easily it is the idea that it is the matter of all, all of us […]. It regards me you and Trump and all. In some way, of course, it is true, but from this comes the*

illusion that we should all help together because we have one intention, which is not true. We have different interests. We don't behave like that. So the illusion that it is not political is common […]. The success of [ecological education] is [because] there is this illusion and teachers most of the times are not politicized. They prefer this idea: all together and the voice of reasons and blah blah, instead of saying that this is also a struggle between different interests which is politics. (AT.TE.3)

The interviewee stresses the need for research on classroom pedagogies in the area of citizenship education which could provide a clearer picture. However, he provides an example for what he thinks reflects the common public approach to ecological matters:

I mean it is even a progress if they are not depoliticizing students. One example is the Friday for Future Movement, is a global movement to fight climate change. Greta [Thunberg] invented this. […] and there was a big one in Vienna. Students started this influenced by international movements but not organized by any help from adults. And when it first came to the […] radio station, I have to tell you, this is a very serious high quality programme with political and cultural and music and so on, really high quality but in the news the students were interviewed, the question was not: 'why do you make the strike?' [but] 'what are you doing personally for protecting the climate?' and this is a depoliticizing question because [students] are not taken seriously as political subjects who are organizing something in order to gain so much power to change the structure but they are reduced as persons [..] I think this is problematic. Of course, this is was in the radio not the school. (AT. TE. 3)

The interviewee thinks that public opinion disregards the influence of power relations and international politics on the environment discourse and downgrades the discussion to mere individual activities to combat climate change. This discussion is not meant to dismiss or devalue or undermine any personal or individualistic dispositions, initiatives and participatory activities in the environmental domain or any other domain. The argument, as put forward in the framework of this study, is that citizenship education should go further to engage in the discussion of how competing different interests and powers in the world are contributing to environmental disasters and injustice and how citizens' agency and initiatives may be limited if no structural change or serious political determination and action accompany those initiatives.

This discussion also does not want to claim that the approach followed in schools is only limited to the personally responsible model, since there exists a range of approaches. It is rather to highlight a noticeable tendency in the findings at hand, which prompts the need for a conception of democracy that is not confined to just personally responsible citizens.

5. 3. 4. Citizenship, assessment and the efficiency discourse

When they finish in school the matura they should be finished citizens and able to participate in the state and all that comes with that. […]. I think it is based on school career when it ends of the matura after 12 years you are a good citizen because you

should be able to find a place for you and I think schooling can do something and everything in schools aims toward that everything and if you are not, you are dropping out and there are some who don't make it either by not coping with the system or failing a test so yeah some fail the system and you can argue whether these are good citizens or if they will become good citizens or not. Actually that is not something I am thinking about often because it is a hard question because they fall through the system and you don't see them as a teacher. (AT.T.3)

To be a good citizen according to the above is more likely to happen if someone is efficient and successful, rule-abiding and coping with the system and expectations of the school, obtaining good grades and finishing schooling and completing a path that entitles him or her to be a good citizen. This efficiency-oriented discourse, characterized by this ability to "find your place" tends to view citizenship as an outcome and reveals a strong rational and instrumental orientation in the idea of citizenship education. One teacher educator explains his disapproval:

It is like teaching pupils to function. It is like if you have a chewing gum machine you put money and you have gums [...] You put knowledge and you have good citizen. (AT.TE. 3)

The discussion here could be seen as being informed by the tension that exists between the goals of citizenship education and a prevailing neoliberal instrumental approach to schooling, which views education as an achievement and as a way to prepare the generation for the competitive marketplace. One teacher educator *(AT.TE.3)* highlights how the neoliberal "religion" is influencing schooling in general and citizenship education in particular and causing teachers to feel unimportant and ineffective. He invites teachers to reflect on this problem. While many teachers may not be fully aware of the hegemony of "the neoliberal religion" per se, they do communicate their dismay at some aspects such the need to assess. Two teachers explain:

I don't like exams but this is a part of my job It doesn't depend if somebody has learnt something or not but how to participate in a lesson without the pressure of marks in the background so this would be a system I would prefer […]. Today everything is standardized, following standards you can measure it but there is knowledge you cant measure and you shouldn't […]. Not everything that happened in school can be measured by tests and per cent. This is something for merchants but not for a pedagogical area. (AT.T.1)

It is highly recommended that we test. Students and parents want me to test ... we got one test per semester with grades (1 to 5) I don't like that but students like it. That was strange when I started teaching. I don't need a test to evaluate what they are good at […]. For some teachers that is overwhelming because they have to look at the test and say ok he wrote down the wrong thing but he understands something about that is very difficult to get grades out of that. (AT.T.3)

Being a value-laden area of education, citizenship education poses concerns about the way teachers evaluate their students. A teacher educator highlights some problematic issues regarding evaluating values, in particular:

> *I would say you are not allowed to evaluate attitudes if you are teaching Politsche Bildung in a democracy, well-functioning democracy or if you are a democrat by heart you must give them the possibility to keep and express the attitude. You have to be careful if they raise something like extremist racist or sexist attitudes but attitudes, which are based on arguments, I think this must be very much outside giving grades. Other things, knowledge is easy to test. Skills are harder to test […]. There is something like at the end of year two, they should have this skill but for me this is not possible. For example, the skill to raise your opinion or to write a text, ok which is the level to have. I can write a poem which is fantastic or a poem which is just a poem. Who will decide this? you always have the goal and to focus on the goal but something are not really realistic. (AT. TE. 2)*

The statement raises some questions. A few teachers explain that they want their students to argue and use numbers and statistics to support any opinion. If attitudes can only be accepted when based on arguments, but at the same time need to be within limits, the question is whose limits are they and how tight? Further, what happens if a student presents a compelling argumentation on a topic that is not within the limit? Will the teacher grade this student based on his argument and research skills or on her/his extreme attitudes? In other words, do students' "wrong" attitudes lead to them getting a low grade?

Another dimension to this discussion has to do with teachers' resort and preference to organised and structured activities and materials. One teacher educator narrated what he referred to as "scandal" and "sad story" of the abandoning of a good intercultural book whose publication has discontinued because it was "too much for teachers." The book was written by a teacher and an artist and included literary, cultural, stories and poetic elements from over 50 nationalities that are present in the country. In some cases, the original text of the story or poem was provided. The respondent argues that the "strict way of checking and the outcome orientation" of teachers thinking and teacher education has made teachers feel overwhelmed by such a fluid unstructured and complex material.

It may be confusing which grade should I teach? If you are committed, you will like it. Others say it is nice but too much for me I have so much to do and it is complicated for the kids. These are common excuses. I mean this is a scandal! (AT.TE.3).

5. 3. 5. Citizenship education and the different school types

As discussed earlier, citizenship education has a different status and addresses different topics in different school types in Austria. An NGO participant explains her concern with the situation:

> *It depends on the type of school. […]. Citizenship education doesn't have the same quality and amount in every school type. You know in Austria there are a lot of school types and depending if or if you go to the vocational schools you might not experience the same quality of citizenship education and that is a huge problem and a challenge that we should tackle. (AT. NGO. 1)*

Since the current research was involved in collecting data from only two school types, the lower secondary school (*Neue Mittelschule*, NMS) and the academic secondary school (*Gymnasium*, AHS), the following findings and discussion are related to these school types only. Citizenship education in both of these school types is delivered through a cross-curricula basis as well as through the new subject that is integrated with history and social studies. Both schools have the same curricula and the same textbooks. However, there are noticeable differences to be noted.

The first part of this discussion is related to teachers and teacher education. As discussed earlier, the teachers who teach at the NMS used to attend University Colleges of Teacher Education, whereas teachers of the AHS attended universities. The 2015/2016 reform of the new teacher education (*Pädagoginnenbildung NEU*) was issued to combine teacher education under one umbrella institution and curricula in an effort to standardize and unite Initial Teacher Education. Although teacher education models and this new initiative are not at the centre of this study, there are important implications that are worth mentioning and which have implications for citizenship education in schools.

1). The continuous tension between the center and the periphery

> *Now you have one teacher education for all pupils who will be teachers in secondary level in lower and higher. Now it started. It started two years ago. Before that, teachers for gymnasium and for NMS had to study at different places […]. And now this is put together in this Pädagoginnenbildung Neu. In the future it is like this but one different thing you don't study here or at the university you study at one roof organisation and we are working together. It is like a head association where you officially study but it is more similar to the university yes we work together but it is more close of the education of the university. So the new curriculum is similar to the old university curriculum than the old university college curriculum. (AT. TE. 2)*

The new reform of teacher education was hailed by many interviewees who saw it as a step toward achieving more comprehensive schooling in the country. However, some interviewees also highlighted what they considered unequal relations in the cooperation between the university and the PHs, which is related to a long history of division and higher prestige assigned to the university and its graduates. The different types of teachers have established different opportunities and entitlements for teachers at the two schools. The following

passage is interesting as it presents an experience of a teacher who studied to teach at the *Gymnasium* but had to take a job opportunity at an NMS:

> *I was not teaching history because I am not allowed to teach history at the NMS and only allowed to teach German math and English. That is political. I am what we call a bundeslehrer, it is the teacher who applies for the gymnasium I am paid by the state of Austria and teachers at the NMS are paid by the federal state of Tirol that is the difference. Tirol does not want us to take their jobs away for their own teachers. That is a ridiculous problem. (AT. T. 3)*

On the other hand, besides illustrating the difference in teacher recruitment and assignment, the excerpt sheds light on important issues related to the value assigned to citizenship education as a subject on the margin that ANY teacher can teach.

> *You have in the gymnasium, you have teachers who have university education in their subject and they normally teach their subject and they teach this since a long time but in NMS and other schools, you have teachers who studied in Teacher Colleges and they come to a school and perhaps they studied geography and math, and they say ok you can do Politsche Bildung as well and you can also gymnastics because you look fit. [giggle] (AT. TE.2)*

Nusche et al. (2016) argue that although substantial steps have been taken to reform teacher education in Austria, "a full move to comprehensive schooling seems unlikely as long as the split between federal and provincial schools is maintained" (p.14).

2). *The teachers! It is really the teachers [that is the main difference between the two school types]*. There seems to exist a clear "us" and "them" dichotomy and polarization between the two types of teachers that seems to privilege the AHS teachers, not only in terms of competences and approaches to citizenship education but also in terms of commitment, personal dispositions and aspirations.

> *[The new curriculum] is the same [at both school types], basically, but the teachers there [at the NMS] they don't give a .., because first of all they don't have the same university education that we have and it's very hard to them to get into those terms and everything that is written down in the new curriculum is very hard to understand […]. I got a colleague and she teaches history and citizenship education. I was talking to her a lot about the new curriculum, about the things she is doing in her classes. She is nice and I think is a brilliant teacher but she is the main difference between the teachers at the Gymnasium and the NMS. It is always the teachers. She has no idea about the new curriculum, for example, and to her, it is hard to her to get to some complicated issues in history, for example, when it comes to the national socialist. Students were asking a lot and she was somehow […. long silence] yeah and she says she is not able to cope with that (AT.T.3).*

When the teacher was asked if the new reform of the Teacher Education New will make a difference in the future, he responded with a skeptical answer:

No I guess it won't because you got a different type of teacher applying to the NMS than those applying to AHS. […]. it depends on what you what you want to achieve in the future. What is important for me is to guide the student to the Matura and to teach older students not only the little ones. Some want to go to NMS because of the little kids and in a way it is not so hard when it comes to subject matter […]. It takes about 3 years to go to NMS but 5 or 6 years to Gymnasium. (AT. T. 3)

The second part of this discussion of school types involves the student population which also has an impact on the possibilities and opportunities of teaching citizenship education.

They are lots of difference. Most of the students who go to gymnasium are from more educated family background than we have to take in everybody. So we have to take in all the students. No questions asked. So there is a deep difference coming from family background. […]. We have other things that we have to concentrate on like being able to teach German or English and if I don't understand the language if I don't understand what my teacher is talking about I will either go to sleep or disturb the class. (AT. T. 11)

The new middle school is very similar to the lower level of the gym because we have the same curricula. The different thing is that you have is something the Austrian education system is highly differential. We have a social gap. So you have in the NMS especially in the city, you have many students from migrant background and low social and economic status. So you have different problems educating them. (AT. TE. 2)

As discussed earlier, the selective system contributes to having different types of students at the two schools, primarily based on socio-economic factors, which poses the question regarding how democratic this system is. The school system reveals a gap between social classes. A number of interviewees acknowledge the role of social class and parents' educational background in relation to having more diverse classrooms:

I think we have 15 or 16 languages in our school so there is diversity but not as much as in the NMS. This is another topic because it depends on choosing students with marks to come to gym it means you have to be a very good student in elementary school with great marks. […]. So students from other countries which are attending our school are mostly of middle and upper class people so the educational background is much better than in many students at the NMS even the parents background, they have interest in education they try that the children learn not only German but to catch up on the other subjects and that's a big difference. (AT. T. 1)

Data reveals that while some AHS teachers argued in favor of this selective system, all the NMS teachers interviewed were hostile to it, which indicates a deeply embedded cultural heritage and mindset that will take years to change.

I hate it! I hate our system. I am with the opinion that kids should be together from the age of 5 or 6 or whatever to at least 15. And I even believe that 15 year old, after 9

years of school, does not have any idea, most of them, what they are going to do with their lives. (AT. T. 11)

The following respondent elaborates on the division between the two schools and highlights the complexity of the role of teachers in delivering citizenship education in these two different settings:

The curriculum [of citizenship education] in the gymnasium and the NMS is quite exactly the same but the setting and the problem solving is quite different because at the age of 10, and in the interest of the parents, the pupils divided into those who got good marks, those go to the gymnasium and the others go to the NMS. I would say the challenge for the teachers at the NMS is to give the students the opportunity to become an apprentice after school and to gain basic competences: reading writing calculating, let's say basic skills in foreign language especially in English. In the gymnasium, those children are supported by their parents. Most of these parents earn more money, they have a library at home, or a small library at least, the parent can pay to support the young people for example by teachers if they don't bring good results in mathematics, you ask someone to help you and because of that, the situation in the gym is different. The teachers at the gym have more time and opportunities to talk with young people about politics, for example. In the NMS the teachers have the chance to provide basic skills […]. The teachers in the NMS in my opinion, are completely aware of their role as political persons because they take it serious that this young people in the NMS have got less chances than others and if they are working on gaining better chances for the students they themselves, they are acting as political persons. Of course many of them don't have time or are not willing to spend any time of their lesson time to talk about politics [….]. The system gives the opportunity to separate and those parents who are interested in the education of their kids use the system to give the kids into the gymnasium and all the others who say 'I am not interested in education I am just interested that my son or daughter gets a job later on. There is no need to go to gym I don't want him or her to study at the university.' Then we have the situation that still we have. It is a pity but it is like it is! (AT.P.1)

While attributing the division to structural reasons as well as societal expectations and parental interests, the respondent also highlights the role of teachers at NMS schools to make a difference. Yet, it is important to discuss one of the most outstanding observations and allusions in the data, which emphasizes the public image, attribution and expectation of both teachers and students at NMS schools. When complaining about the difficulty of the new curriculum, two teachers from AHS schools wondered how the students and teachers at NMS schools are dealing with it, branding both teaches and students as less competent. One important consequence regarding this attribution of NMS teachers and students can have a negative influence on practice. One the other hand, teachers at NMS schools seem to be fully aware of the attribution and the brands ascribed to them. While some were defensive and argued against the unjust system, others seemed accepting of the status quo and the dilemma they have to deal with. Either way, there is a risk that teachers at NMS schools, even if they have the democratic disposition and personal commitment to deliver a thick approach to citizenship, may be discouraged or demotivated knowing the expectations the society has

about them, the type of student population they have and the multiple learning competences they struggle with. Therefore, they may be influenced by this bias and attribution of the students and not attempt to go any further or to engage in any critical political discussion. It is important not to blame the teachers and not to claim that teachers should be aware of their role without tackling the roots of such division in the first place.

In 2009, the International Civic and Citizenship Study (ICCS) analyzed the Austrian educational context in relation to school democracy, student participation and attitudes towards politics and active citizenship competences. Revealing a very broad range between high performers and low performers (with more than 40 percent of the students in the group of low performers, which is a high rate in comparison to other western European countries), the findings, Haupt & Turek (2015) argue, could be attributed to the Austrian educational system and the different school types that influence students' educational pathways from an early age. The data at hand reveal a belief that teachers at the Academic Secondary Schools (AHS) deliver a thicker approach to citizenship education than the teachers at the *Neue Mittelschule* (NMS). However, this conclusion should be addressed in relation to the structure of the system and how it works, the different school types, types of teacher education, and the different student populations in these schools. Teachers at the *Gymnasium* have more time and opportunity to engage in deep and critical political discussions, which are often missing in an NMS classroom. Most of the time, an NMS teacher has to deal with a large number of students of often lower socio-economic and educational background, including a high percentage of migrant-background students (Herzog-Punzenberger et al., 2012), who still struggle to reach basic skills and competences, including language skills. One NMS teacher illustrates her struggle with multiple roles at her school:

> *We need more support from persons who work with students with poor German, or students with psychological problems. At the movement I feel like I am everything. I am mother, I am father, I am the educator, I am the psychologist. If possible they would make me cook. We need help! (AT.T. 11)*

Another relevant observation concerns the kind of platform for democratic participation and cooperation that is available at the two school types. Austrian schools have a framework to provide the opportunity for different stakeholders, including teachers, parents, students and the community to participate in decision-making. After receiving information on the dynamics of student and parents' participation in the *Schulforum and Schulgemeinschaftsausschuss* (SGA), I sought more information from respondents via e-mail and informal subsequent conversations. A policy expert explained that the Schulforum is set for grade 5 to 8 in both NMS and AHS, headed by the School Directorate, attended by teachers and parents. Students are formally not allowed to take part since they are under 14, the legal age for decision making rights. Therefore, they have "keine Geschäftsfähigkeit" in a formal context and are supposed to be represented by their parents. The SGA, on the other hand, can have students from age 14 students who have legal decision making power ("eingeschränkte Geschäftsfähigkeit"). It is also headed by the school directorate and seats are taken equally by teachers, parents and students. Decisions are taken by majority in both platforms. However, data indicates that younger students (under 14) in AHS schools had a chance (maybe informally) to participate in democratic decision making and to voice their concerns and complains.

One NMS teacher explains that "the SGA in the AHS is based on different laws than our Schulforum and really our students are not represented there because of their young age. This is true for all NMS." (Correspondences with AT.T. 11) Although having a compulsory legal basis for both platforms, the participation of parents is voluntary. What often happens is that the majority of parents are not interested or do not have the kind of education that facilitates their participation and engagement, not to mention the expectations of the schools toward them in the first place. In other words, such forums, with the intention of enhancing democracy and participation in schools, are also associated with the social class and the education background of the parents. There is a general acknowledgment in the academic sphere that different backgrounds of students pose a "problem" and a challenge to active participation in the democratic and political literacy in schools.

> *We have the problem that some pupils which are raised very well in a good environment you see how they act and speak perhaps they are shy but they are able to speak and to think. […]. Some core things such as what is democracy and which aspects that indicate democracy. If I tell them, some kids look at me like they have not heard of it and some others they have. So I think the social background is the core problem. […] So I think the social background is the core problem. If you have a more just education system not with all this separation because the children of the better educated and more wealthier backgrounds, family backgrounds I think they don't need that much Poltische Bildung or only to see other opinions which they don't hear at home. But I think they are able to inform themselves. But you see that there is talk about politics and critical arguments and so on but the others have no political discussions no talks no TV no newspaper reading. Parents, they I think are the problem. (AT.TE.2)*

The data above is crucial to the argument that citizenship education in the country should be discussed within this context of a highly selective system.

5. 3. 6. Citizenship education and "the pedagogy of discomfort"[21]

Citizenship education programmes and courses include addressing some issues that are hard, complex, sensitive and controversial, which have the potential of stirring emotions and inciting conflicts in the classroom. Since the majority of citizenship education that happens in the schools studied happens within the framework of the new integrated subject with history and social studies, a lot of the discomforting issues shared by the teachers had to do with past and present key events, wars and conflicts, political parties, immigration, religion, and others. All interviewees strongly believe that citizenship education should address past and current sensitive and controversial issues, which is a part of living in a democracy.

> *Bringing in the opinions from different points of view is one of the best thing you could do as a teacher. (AT.T.3)*

[21] The term was first used by Boler, M. (1999). Feeling Power: Emotions and Education. London: Routledge.

> *If you want to raise democratic people, they must experience a critical controversial talk. Perhaps we find a solution or we don't find a solution. Mostly solutions are hard. There is never black and white. (AT. TE.2)*

When asked about experiences with discussions and disagreement in the classroom, this teacher laughed and explained:

> *disagree is not a problem that it is ok but if it is fanatic or not or if I am not sure that I can manage the discussion then I prefer not to do it but if the students want to speak about it then I will have to do it. (AT.T.4)*

All interviewees acknowledge the high level of complexity involved and the challenges that arise when attempting to maintain a comprehensible, inclusive discussion and constructive critical dialogue while keeping this complexity alive. An NGO that provides training for teaches sheds lights on some difficult questions:

> *It is the responsibility of the teacher to bring up controversial issues no matter what the subject is about […]. If you teach political social issues in our sense you need to discuss it controversially. This is because we live in a democracy and there are different views and they should have a space in the classroom and the training. [..], but yes I think there are some worries: the most questions we hear the most: what am I allowed to say? and what do I do when they are controversial heavy discussions? And how do I get some kind of an objective discussion? These are the main questions we get in our training. In our opinion, it is not about being objective as you are working with human beings, but it is about controversial discussions […]. And when people and teachers realize it is not about being objective but about being controversial, I think, then it is a kind of certain relief. (AT.NG.1)*

The passage above illustrates one principle of the Beutelsbach Consensus regarding approaching controversial issues in a controversial way, meaning to open the discussion for multiple opinions without the need to reach any agreement.

Some of the requirements for teachers in relation to teaching citizenship mentioned in the Austrian General Ordinance are "controversy imperative, prohibition of indoctrination and supporting students in forming independent judgements" (Haupt & Turek, 2015, p. 4). The new curriculum for the subject History, Social Studies and Citizenship Education states the following about controversial issues: "Controversial interests in dealing with history and politics are to be recognized by the students as such, and they should – in the sense of a democratic society – be empowered to articulate their own opinions as well as to accept those of others[22]." The word "multiperspectivity" was mentioned in the curriculum draft several times, indicating the need for students and teachers alike to engage in a democratic dialogue where different opinions can coexist. In this process, teachers are allowed and even encouraged to present their opinion as long as they make space for others and do not make their opinions the centre of the discussion. For the majority of teachers, this makes sense, since being totally objective is not possible and not even human. One young teacher

[22] https://www.ris.bka.gv.at/Dokumente/BgblAuth/BGBLA_2016_II_113/BGBLA_2016_II_113.html

(AT.T.12) explains that he was very "thankful" for the Beutelsbach Consensus because it gave him the confidence and the relief to discuss citizenship education issues without the fear of practicing indoctrination. Data indicates that only recent graduates have heard about the principles of the Consensus, which was included in their teacher education. For the more experienced teachers, having to be objective "was hammered into [their] heads" (AT. T. 11) when studying to be teachers, so it is very difficult for them to accept that neutrality is not important anymore. In practice, however, this comes with many challenges and complexities since a teacher's opinion may indirectly imply to students which opinion is more powerful or favoured.

When asked whether teachers are prepared for addressing heavy topics and issues in the classroom, different kinds of answers were provided. The older teachers reflected how they learnt it by practice, since no guidelines were included in their teacher education. With the younger teachers, although they thought they were prepared, their answers also implied uncertainly embedded in their silence and the use of statement such as: "Yes maybe I am prepared. I don't know." The majority displayed concern that complex issues required more time which citizenship education classes currently lack.

Some of the prominent topics that seem difficult to approach as indicated by the respondents include the following:

- *World War II history*

WWII history occupies a substantial part in the curriculum as a part of the "keeping it alive" culture that did not start very long ago. One senior teacher reflects:

> *In the 1970s, I remember that when I went to this teaching college in Innsbruck we had lots of ancient history. We stopped in the year 1933 and the civil war at that time. There was nothing about the rest. Whatever I learnt I did by myself. (AT. T. 11)*

One teacher thinks that teaching about World War II history and facing the ugly side of it was a reason for building a successful, stable, democratic Austria and that this "good story" could inspire other nations emerging from conflicts:

> *At school I feel responsible that students should feel responsible for Austrian history. I say it is part of our history. It is not always Habsburg and Sisi and those nice guys and I say that two main wars in Europe are mainly influenced by Austrian. [...]. So if you ask what is the positive [of teaching about it], you see you can educate! [...] we had good living we can discuss in peace. Also Austria is a post-armed society they don't like the military and they don't want to spend money on it and nobody wants to go there. So you can say it could happen if you feel responsible. It is a good story! (AT. T. 7)*

Another teacher explains that, unlike the popular belief that everyone knows about the Holocaust, for so many students "it is a new thing" (AT. T. 9).

There were several concerns that were shared by interviewees regarding teaching about World War II in schools nowadays. The first concerns the students from other nationalities and backgrounds. One questions asked by two respondents (AT. TE. 3; AT. P.1) was whether these students should also bear the responsibility involved, taking into consideration that some of these nationalities actually fought the Nazis. One teacher explains her worry that students are sometimes so curious to find out about the crude details of how people were killed. She worries that students' interest may be motivated by their curiosity to find out about the cruelty of the war (AT. NT.1). She narrates a disappointing experience after reading a book about a Nazi officer who loses his child. The students' reaction was: "Well, he deserves it." The teacher explains how such reactions disappoint her since her aim was to keep the memory and never to incite feeling of blame, hate or anger.

Another challenge is voiced by a teacher when faced with oral history and family narratives:

> *What was very challenging to me was a girl who said that her great grandfather was serving the German army but that he was a nice guy. I was planning to talk about the atrocities that the German committed in Poland but I cancelled that. You have to confront them with some facts but her family narrative was that her great grandfather was in the German, he was a nice guy, he killed no one he killed no Jews he hasn't any idea of that. When I come in and say ok the German Wehrmacht and these were the atrocities they committed, I shatter some family narrative and that is not my purpose [...] I am not sure how to deal with it right now. And the problem is that there is so much to talk about. (AT.T.3).*

The teacher acknowledges the complexity and "so much to talk about" but within a limited time, the challenge is still there and the unresolved question remains: How do you deliver to the students and explain things clearly in a limited timeframe and without compromising the complexity?

Data also shows teachers' struggle between conveying the complexity of intense topics and making things clear and understandable to students, especially to younger students. In one class[23] attended at an AHS school, a teacher asks (14 -15 years old) students if they knew about Hannah Arendt. No student knew about her. The teacher had prepared to show a YouTube clip from a movie showing Arendt's final speech reflecting on the trial of Eichmann.[24] The teacher asked some questions after the video but it was clear that the majority of students were clueless and lost, especially because of the actress attempting to imitate a German accent. Some were even giggling at the way the letter 'r' was pronounced. Frustrated, the teacher played the video again hoping for student to grasp the message of the video. I could feel the teacher's concern and struggle to use a period of about 50 minutes to explain such a complex and overwhelming speech. I wondered how she or any other teacher could explain Arendt's banality of evil and that "to understand is not the same as to forgive," and that "the worst evil is committed by normal people" within a limited time and to a young

[23] The class took place in English and was part of some teachers' initiative to teach about the holocaust, democracy and human rights.

[24] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wmBSIQ1lkOA

audience who do not know of Arendt. After another attempt, the teacher then resorted to giving handout to students about a similar issue, hoping that a written text could be clearer to understand.

- *Political parties*

One important framework for teachers if they want to discuss or invite any political representatives to their classroom requires that all political parties are represented. One teacher relates the story of how another teacher almost faced expulsion when he arranged for representatives of all parties for a class visit but one of them cancelled. The teacher who should have also cancelled the visit proceeded with one party missing. This framework, although highly democratic and just, poses challenges and fears of consequences. A policy expert interviewed explains how parents who are not fans of discussing party politics in the classroom accuse teachers of indoctrinating their children to follow one particular party. Maintaining an objective stand is also difficult sometimes:

> *I don't tell them what I vote or which party I prefer. I try to be objective but we are not machine. I don't know how objective we can be. the students are intelligent and somehow they can understand in which way you. (AT. T. 4)*

- *Teaching in a diverse classroom*

Data show teachers' struggle to navigate between different and sometimes opposing narratives or opinions in a diverse classroom:

> *I never try to avoid, I hope, but it is incredible difficult! This diversity of kids from different cultural backgrounds […]. For example, if I come and say this was a holocaust of those people in Turkey [of Armenians] most of my Turkish students who know about it, are they interested in that? Not really! they will say no it is wrong it was justified and so on. It is difficult. (AT. T. 11)*

> *And then when in the 8th grade when we have all the unrestness and wars and things of the 20th century when they are a little able to understand, most of them come from a background that shape them. They do have, not convictions, they have their parents' political convictions and like parrots they reproduce them. So to take influence in that is not that easy in two lessons a week. (AT. T. 11)*

> *When the terror attacks in Brussels and Paris, the students were scared but interested. Some teacher were like I don't want to get in problems with parents or with Muslim parents I don't want to have problems with school boards and others said it is important to talk about it because people are interested and need information to build up their own mind. (AT. TE. 2)*

> *We have students from former Yugoslavia and if you teach the history in the 1990s you have to be careful what you say because the parents may be involved in this. (AT. T. 7)*

The examples above illustrate the difficult task of teachers, while addressing sensitive and complex issues, when several opinions and identities are involved. Teachers' feelings of discomfort and helplessness in most of the interviews conducted was evident. A few teachers view this tension as a good sign:

> *Well education without tension is a little boring. You should not be afraid of tension. I am afraid of a boring history lesson that everyone is speaking about the Romans and nobody is involved. I think tension makes it interesting for the students and I am in some ways very strict. I would not let them be impolite to each other. I make strict rules how we talk to each other and then I bring them info about a certain topic such as refugees and we work on materials but not on opinions. We make opinions based on facts. If you say all refugees are criminals, we ask for real data that support that. (AT. T. 7)*

Again the question is: Where do we draw the line? While some teachers refer to universal human rights as the line that separates what is acceptable and what is not, many display uncertainty, discomfort and doubt and admit that they avoid discussions altogether.

5. 3. 7. Citizenship education and the Other in a pluralistic society

Austrian policy documents address issues of diversity and there exist several programmes and actions[25] to provides teachers and schools with the knowledge and skills to deal with diverse classrooms. The term diversity has been expanded officially to be a comprehensive term including ethnic, linguistic, religious, gender, disability and socio-economic categorizations. Teacher education programmes include some intercultural competences as necessary requirements in their curricula. However, because of the high autonomy of teacher education institutions, the provision and implementation of these competences, which often happen in a cross-curricula manner, are not easy to track and dependent on the teaching and leadership staff in each institute (PPMI, 2017).

"But what is the Austrian identity? [giggle] (AT. T. 12)

Citizenship education has historically been attached to the concept of nation. Increasing multicultural societies have challenged that. In the context of Austria, the issue of national and cultural identity has been a difficult and complex issue. After the collapse of the Habsburg Empire, the first Austrian republic was established after the end of World WarI in 1918. The state did not have a distinct identity and its citizens mostly identified themselves as part of the larger German nation (Lamb-Faffelberger, 2003). During the interwar period, ongoing struggles between conservatives, leftists, and pan-Germanists did not help in shaping a distinct independent identity and led to a civil war and eventually to a dictatorship in 1934. Melchior (2004) argues that the lack of Austrian sense of national belonging during the Austrofascist period (1933–1938) was mainly due to the misuse of nationalist slogans "to legitimate an authoritarian regime that suppressed the working class and its political representatives" (p.12). Nationalistic ideals started to develop during the Nazi regime.

[25] Such as the Federal Centre for Inter-culturalism, Migration and Multilingualism (BIMM), Pathways to academic "text competence" – writing for reflective professionalization, etc. (PPMI, 2017).

The most crucial time for the construction of an Austrian identity was following World War II. Politicians, including conservatives, leftists and communists, all worked to promote an Austrian identity that was distinct and distant from Germany. Pro-Germanist accounts of Austrian history were rare and met with criticism (Cinar, 2015). Political elites from the two major parties, the Social Democrats and the People's Party, exhibited a strong commitment to an Austrian independent nation, while the Freedom Party included the diminishing numbers of German-Nationalists (Melchior, 2004). Drawing on the notion of the "imagined communities" by Benedict Anderson, Lamb-Faffelberger (2003) discusses how the political elites contributed to the formation of an Austrian identity following the war based on the following premises:

> "First, Austria is Hitler's first victim, and Austria's involvement in WWII was that of simply doing one's duty by obeying orders. Second, Austria is a one-thousand-year old country with a rich history, a wealth of cultural traditions, and blessed with splendid natural beauty. Third, Austria is a neutral country, untouchable by the Cold War conflict." (p. 209)

This artificial construct was, first, intended to erase memories of the civil war and to shun any Austrian responsibility of the atrocities committed against humanity during World War II. Further, the notion of Heimat was promoted by dwelling on the natural beauty and on the rich cultural heritage of the Habsburg era. Third, the notion of neutrality was promoted.

However, these official narratives were met with voices from intellectuals and artists who urged their fellow citizens to reflect on the past and question the notion of patriotism and the *Heimat* greatness. It was not until the 1990s when this narrative was renounced, acknowledging with that Austria's responsibility during World War II (Frölich-Steffen 2003, as cited in Melchior, 2004). Also in the 1990s, Austria endorsed and joined the EU[26]. Since then, "national identity has been supplemented by an emerging European consciousness that is not without ambiguities. On the positive side, Austrian membership in the EU was not questioned even during the time of the sanctions of the EU-14 against Austria in 2000-2001. Shortly after the lift of the sanctions nearly 70% were still in favor of membership." (Frölich-Steffen 2003, as cited in Melchior, 2004, p. 13)

Melchior (2004) argues that the Austrian national identity is a recent phenomenon and that it took some time until an Austrian national awareness took hold in the population. While in 1956 more than 50 percent of the population did not believe that Austria was a separate nation, in 2001 more than 90 percent agreed that Austria is a nation. Moreover, a regional belonging has dominated over national belonging to the extent that some *Länder* even wanted to split from Austria.

After 1945 Austria became a democracy that "mixes elements of representative and direct democracy, of parliamentary and presidential models of democracy, and elements of consensus and competition" (Melchior, 2004, p. 25). Parliamentary democracy is the most prominent mode, however. Dissatisfaction with the dominance of the "party-state" made way

[26] Endorsed by the two big parties and the Green party, while the Freedom Party insisted on Austrian national priorities (Melchior, 2004).

for some direct democracy reforms. However, they remained weak and subordinate to "parliamentary politics and often instrumentalized by political parties rather than the expression of citizen activism and preferences" (Melchior, 2004, p. 15).

Nowadays, and like many other countries in the world, particularly in Europe, Austria is facing the tensions arising from immigration. Immigration in Austria is largely associated with "guest worker migration" that started in 1960s and the "new immigration" of Eastern European, African and Asian migrants that began in the late 1980s. Immigrants from Turkey and the former Yugoslavia (major sources for labour recruitment) still form the majority of immigrants (Kraler & Sohler, 2005).

During the 2015 refugee crisis, about 90,000 people applied for asylum (about one percent of the country's population). Although the number dropped dramatically in the following years, migration is still a heated topic in the country, which has caused a rise in nationalist voices demanding to close the borders as well as a substantial success for the right-wing party (Bell, 2018). All of the above raises questions about issues of belonging and who counts as an Austrian and who does not.

According to the results on Austria from the European Values Study 1990–2018 (EVS), the idea that only ancestors or births determine whether one is "wirklich österreichisch" (truly Austrian) has decreased in comparison to the 2008 EVS wave. Today, rather, the attainment of German competences as well as respecting institutions and laws is demanded by an overwhelming majority. However, an unfavoured attitude toward immigration is still present: 74 percent see immigrants as a burden on the social system. The fear of rising crime is also high. Immigration is assessed differently in terms of cultural adaptation and labour market aspects: 45 percent think that immigrants should not maintain their customs and traditions, whereas "only" 33 percent still think immigrants are taking jobs away from the Austrians (2008: 50 percent) (Universität Wien, 2018).

Three subthemes were developed from the data in relation to teaching citizenship education within a context of migration and multiculturalism in Austria.

1) Negotiating identities and multiple affiliations

The formal discourse in Austria acknowledges that a person's association can extend to include multiple geopolitical, national and cultural entities. Yet data shows that some teachers have difficulty coping with students' multiple allegiances. A few teachers reflect on the challenge of integrating students from migrant backgrounds. One teacher complains that the Turkish students and their parents are not keen on learning the language or the culture or even staying in the country, since they have bought houses in their grandfather country and they visit there every holiday. She then proceeds to mention that "we have students from Bosnia and Croatia, etc. they integrate much easier [than the Turkish students] although they also go back to the home country of their parents" (AT. T. 11).

There is also a discourse that certain groups are not willing to take part in citizenship activities even though they are many opportunities available for them. One teacher educator (AT.TE.3) reflects how there is a subtle pressure on certain groups to assimilate and revoke

their own identity and yet not given the complete right to be a part of the host country. Some respondents, such as the following, refer to the need to question the way identities are reduced to single static entities:

> *Politicians always want that young people have to decide are they Austrian? are they Turkish? are they this? They are reducing everything on this item if you are born Turkish or Serbian or whatever and they say they have to decide. You have this conflict they don't belong to the Turkish nation because they don't speak the language correctly and they don't belong here. We have to show them that everybody has multiple identities and I think this would be the most important thing. This is a chance to show if the teacher is really living these principles and you feel this in every situation in school. This would be important. You can talk a lot about justice but if you don't ... oh I think this hidden curriculum is important. Perhaps it is more important than the other one. (AT. TE. 2)*

2) Structural inclusion and integrating voices and knowledge of the others

> *If you teach citizenship education not only for citizens as such but everyone living in Austria, it is somehow a citizen formally or not. You teach the young people about citizenship education and you have to make the difference between citizens of Austria and citizens of other countries […silence] and I can imagine that this is somehow difficult, somehow annoying for young people with migrant background. On the other hand, there are many opportunities in schools in the classroom in your own life cycles with your peers where you can teach the young people to take part in the small political systems […] Of course some of them are interested in voting for some parties or against other parties. There are limitations by the constitutions but there are many opportunities. (AT. P. 1)*

The above excerpt touches on a very important issue in relation to teaching citizenship, which is that of belonging and feeling included, which goes beyond the legal process of becoming a member of a community. This research maintains that students from diverse communities will find it difficult to develop feelings of belonging and commitment to the nation state if it ignores to represent and acknowledge important aspects of their community and cultures (Apple, 2000; Kymlicka, 2017). Several respondents find it important that multicultural classrooms should be an argument for changing the curriculum in a way that provides channels for diverse groups through which they can identify.

The scope of this research did not allow to cover textbooks which could provide significant insights into this discussion. Yet looking at the new curriculum and talking to teachers, it is clear that there is a wide range of topics that address multicultural issues. Yet, it is not enough for some respondents:

I don't think that people leaving the high school with the Matura know about the Nanjin Masscare in China. Maybe it was mentioned one day but it was not emphasized. (AT. TE. 3).

Data illustrates some examples where the teacher and her/ his wisdom play a vital role in approaching any teaching material to make it inclusive of the voices present in the classroom. One teacher thinks it is how a teacher uses his or her common sense and sensibility in the classroom so that some groups do not feel excluded or intimidated:

> *I have 3 girls from Turkey and they were very proud. When I was teaching about how Turkish people, the Ottomans, were two times trying to conquer Vienna - this is one of the things we have to do in the curriculum, they were very silent at these lessons and in one of the next lessons I showed the class in a powerpoint the impact on European culture by the Ottoman Empire and the Islamic empire and they were smiling because, you know, to learn about the Arabic numbers which was introduced by Muslims to Europeans, the way we built castles since the 12th century was impact of the Arabian empire and then I told them yes the Turkish people tried to conquer Vienna twice but what did the Europeans do to other countries, for example? so if you really think of the context of worldwide history that might be one way to do it. (AT. T. 1)*

By highlighting contributions associated with the ethnic background, the teacher above seeks to include, validate and empower minority students. One teacher educator provides some insights from his experience working with teachers on intercultural teaching:

> *It is easy to forget that the classroom is a multicultural classroom. Even if you write understanding the global at the local level and then write 'Discuss with people that have migration life experiences' this seems like a good question but only if counterbalanced by another "speak about your migratory experience to others and see what they have experienced!" Otherwise you would only address the Austrian students and this happened to me […]. It is not easy because your own imaginary is egocentric of course for everyone. (AT. TE. 3)*

The respondent above acknowledges the complexity and the difficulty of the task. He reflects on how it is particularly difficult to help teachers reduce complexity in the classroom but at the same time not "reduce and eradicate the real problems" in the process. He maintains the need for constant self-reflection and learning on the side of the teacher to overcome prejudice and attitudes in order not to "fall from the top of the mountain" again and return to the clear, and oftentimes well-intended, gap between us and them.

> *[Teachers] have to reflect […] without changing this attitude there is no hope and the rest is not so much. In every example, and the materials I was developing, they have to ask a set of questions: who is addressed? Are all people treated equally? Are the interests and experiences of all pupils integrated? If the teacher has a kind of open pedagogy to listen to the students to say that teaching is not what I will give them but to look at which qualities does a student or a group of students have and how I can help them to build on that, which is not teaching but giving them something. If they are in this mindset it is easier. (AT. TE. 3)*

The above brings back the discussion on teachers' attitudes and values and whether these attitudes can be taught in teacher education and who decides which values are desirable?

One teacher problematizes the very notion of democracy as follows:

> *The western democratic system is so strongly promoted by the books, so at the end, the solution is western democratic system is better than others. (AT. T. 1)*

3) Diversity as a problem, burden, division or asset

Data shows examples of teaches who maintained that difference was a source of cultural and ideological richness to the class (AT.TE3; AT.T.1; AT.T.8). On the other hand, data shows a tendency to perceive diversity as a burden or problem that required teachers' cautions when approaching certain topics. There are also examples showing that teachers' conceptualization of diversity as a problem is focused mainly on ethno-cultural categorizations and gives little attention to other aspects of what diversity may entail. When asked how they deal with difficult discussions in a diverse classroom, two teachers indicate that they do not have that "problem" because one of them teaches in a *Gymnasium* and the other one teaches in a private NMS whose student population tend to be homogenous compared to a regular NMS school.

There is also the common problem of language proficiency among immigrant children, and lack of their parents' involvement or interest which often render these children to be looked at as deficient or incompetent and unmotivated to be a part of the active citizenship education discourse and practice.

Data also reveals references to Muslims as difficult to integrate, "strongly challeng[ing] our values" or "not following our cultural lines." While collecting data, a book was published by a former NMS school teacher and prompted some intense discussions among teachers in Austria which was also reflected in the data. The book[27]title reads: *Cultural Clash in the Classroom: How Islam is Changing Schools: A Report by a Teacher*. One teacher educator explained how the book has made many teachers happy because it finally uncovered some problems that had been kept under cover for fear they would be used as a propaganda by the right wing party. However, the respondent explains his disapproval of the book:

> *Well there were many problems especially with the Turkish people not because they were Turkish but because it was not about Turkish upper class but mainly about poor people or people with bad experiences and not very nice people. To me it was a social problem with an ethnic aspect, which was emphasized and in order not to be used by the right wing, they said 'silence' […the author] didn't want to put a cover on these problems anymore. However, on the other hand, in a way the book is racist. She is not aware of that even the cover of the book is racist with words of the prophet and the script like Arabic, green and red colours. She ethicized and religionised these problems. There are some passages are ok and others are against Islam in a general way not against a certain interpretation of Islam but this book was taken seriously. [I know someone who made] a book about the problems in schools but it was not dramatic and nobody discussed it. She made all of this a scandal and she was even*

[27] Wiesinger, S. (2018). Kulturkampf im Klassenzimmer. Wie der Islam die Schulen verändert. Wien: Edition QVV

promoted to a counsellor to the government because of this but nobody discusses the racist underlying tone. (AT.TE.3)

On the other hand, one teacher (AT.T.1), in an informal conversation, explains the book has been misinterpreted as biased and that the author is only trying to highlight "real" problems that are embedded in NMS schools, which need structural change.

Since I only had a chance to read some reviews and not the actual book, I cannot provide any judgment. However, on the one hand, I argue that such problems should be discussed openly and not kept hidden under pretexts of 'political correctness' just because they are related to a certain ethnic or religious group. On the other hand, I could argue that the title (and possibly the content) may have failed to recognize the diversity of identities and affiliations within a broad term such as Islam as well as considering certain conditions that shape students' behaviours and attitudes. In short, there are no easy answers for such debates but engaging in them is a good and healthy endeavour in the effort to find sustainable solutions for education in a multicultural society.

5.3.8. The competences debate

A Competency Model for citizenship education was established in 2008 to strengthen competence-oriented teaching and learning and support active citizenship by encouraging young people to get actively involved in democracy and society as a whole. The focus was that learning activities should be closely linked to the lives and experiences of the students (Haupt & Turek, 2015).

One young teacher explains that teachers are still stuck in "a 30 years old facts vs. competencies debate [or between] the old system and new system" (AT.T.3). In this research, this debate is related to knowledge transfer of democracy vs. living democracy. To the majority of teachers, the competence approach to teaching makes sense and should be followed instead of a dry and abstract way of teaching about democracy:

When you see history as a subject that you can learn that was very easy because you write something down you learn it you do the test and then you fail or pass now this is not the case no more. You have really to understand things and I think that is really good and that's what I want to achieve whether I'm in the old system or the new system. (AT.T.3)

I would prefer not to follow only a textbook but maybe to create some competences the students should have and the topics are up to me because civics should take place in the present, what are the problems now, and then I can compare how was it in former times and the problems change nearly daily so if you read this book maybe in 2 years maybe its old. The examples provided will be old so for me it would be better to follow my own curriculum just to have a frame of some topics I have to tackle but I fill it with content myself. (AT. T.1)

Some think it is enough to know how many states or national councils or such formal things. To bring it from a very dry abstract topic to life, you always have to think what is the connection to the daily life of students. They are 13 years at the 7th grade and we speak about the French revolution and the development of democracy and I

always try to find something related to their life not abstracts and we spoke how decisions in their class take place. (AT.T.7)

While the competence approach is seen as a revolutionary step in education, that moved it from abstract input coaching to relevant output knowledge, skills and values, one teacher educator expresses some doubts regarding the approach in relation to teaching democracy:

There is a tension that you cannot resolve between the idea to teach something and the idea to teach someone, I mean the self-development of this person is wonderful but, on the other hand, I want to become this people, democratic tolerant peaceful guys. I cannot enforce them but If I let them do what they want it can happen, but it will not be the result of my teaching but so many other factors. (AT.TE.3).

On the other hand, data shows that the competence approach is not well understood by teachers, as discussed by the following teacher:

The concept of competencies are not fully understood and for some teachers. There seems to be a resistance to this approach by the older ones who may view it as "playing game". (AT. T. 3)

For example, a few teachers found it problematic and confusing that the modules in the new textbook did not have a chronological order which made the transitions between chapters lack smoothness. This may indicate teachers' lack of understanding and awareness of the new competence-based approach utilized by the new curriculum and textbooks.

Relevant here are the recent findings of Bernard (2019) on the Competence and Academic Orientation in History Textbooks (CAOHT) and Epistemic Beliefs of Austrian History Teachers after the Paradigm Shift to Historical Thinking (EBAHT), which are projects that research the beliefs of history teaching a decade after the 2008 reform that changed the Austrian history curriculum from content orientation to domain-specific competence orientation (historical thinking). By examining teachers' beliefs regarding the paradigm shift in the subject History, Social Studies and Civic Education, he maintains that many teachers still have a vague understanding of competencies of historical thinking. For example, many teachers reported using some approaches in their classroom, which they find vital, but they did not identity these approaches within the competences paradigm. One recommendation of the study involves engaging teachers with textbook development to enhance their understanding of the approach.

4. 3. 9. Citizenship education in Austria: Challenges and concerns

In this section, I briefly present some challenges to teaching citizenship education emphasized by the respondents.

A. Lack of time

Part of this is related to the fact that citizenship is taught alongside history, whose teaching hours have been reduced over the years:

It is always the time. If you want to make Politsche Bildung more successful you need to give it more time so if it is included in a combined subject, you always have the problem that the other subject need more time this is one thing but if you get more hours for this you have to cut it from another subject so it is not realistic. (AT.TE.2)

You have to know that in almost all types of schools and all ages the number of history lessons has been diminished over the last 30 years, which is in some way ridiculous. (AT.TE.3)

We don't have time! What they want us to achieve in history and citizenship is not possible within the kind of lesson they are giving us. (AT.T.3)

B. Lack of coherent and consisted discourse on citizenship education

This includes definitions or understandings of what counts as citizenship education, its aims and implementation (both on policy and practice levels). One respondent thinks that this inconsistency should be viewed as a part of living in a democracy and that "different definitions of active citizenship education be able to exist and coexist" (AT.NG.1).

This inconsistency has rendered citizenship education a confusing subject, especially within a cross-curricula framework. What counts as citizenship education and how to evaluate it, were some questions implied by many answers.

The understanding of democracy is very different, so what is democracy? I think it is hard to find a way to teach it. It is a deep question to answer? How to teach political education? I think it is a never ending process. In the school I can teach with demonstrating it. (AT.T.12)

This is also reflected by the way one teacher detected some monologues that might be taking place among students in a citizenship education class:

[Student may be thinking:] "Should I have to learn that? should I get a feeling about it? And what do I need for a mark?" (AT. T. 1)

This incoherence has also widened the gap between policy expectations and the reality of practice:

The [new] curriculum is a very artificial work with expressions nobody can or many people can't understand what they should do with this. It is an artwork of some ministry advocates in Vienna. There are expressions where I can only think 'why does nobody think what to do in school?' (AT.T.1)

I am teaching history and political education and what curriculum tells me to do is to teach history in the first case and always when there is some events we can talk about civics so it is very hard to say that we can go through all these 17 topics for example. (AT.T.3)

C. The cross-curricula approach, the integrated subject and the sought-after independent subject

Teachers were divided concerning the cross-curricula approach. Some think it is possible and every teacher should implement it in his or her class, but the majority believe that it is not practiced mainly because teachers do not have the time or the capacity to implement it within a limited timeframe.

> *At the end most of the teachers do nothing of [the cross-curriculum teaching] because they cannot […] they don't have time. They don't have the resources and even the knowledge to teach every principle. (AT. T. 1)*

These findings seem to align with Eder & Hofmann's (2012) remarks regarding a deficiency in teaching cross-curricular competences in the classroom, which could be attributed to the fact that it is not clearly incorporated in the curriculum, and not evaluated or graded at any level.

Most of the history teachers interviewed showed content with the integration of citizenship with history:

> *We have this tradition in Austria that they are together. I think you cant understand democracy if you don't understand history […] so it is not bad to have this connection but I am not sure if it has to […]but I won't say it to a group of history teachers, because they wont like it and they will see they will take our jobs. Those from the Politsche Bildung want our jobs that is why we say it is best together and it makes sense. (AT.T. 7)*

At the same time, many respondents in the data demand a separate subject, but they still see the challenge involved in such a demand:

> *My cradle is we need an independent subject for. The counter argument is always "nobody else will do anything because now we have the subject." But it is not true because nobody is doing anything else today except committed teachers. If you have someone who has the time and education, it is easier. One more argument they use if they don't have a subject of we don't have a teacher training on citizenship, if we don't have teacher training we don't have institute for teacher education in citizenship if we don't have the institute we don't have research. There is research coming from people in department of politics and social studies and so on […]. I guess it is absolutely impossible to change this. First because there is no political will. Secondly in the community of citizenship teachers and academics even, they don't want it. Because for example they are in the institute for history so If you take it away, they take them away. (AT.TE.3)*

Yet, “the Austrian solution at the moment is working” and there seems “no opportunity to separate them” since it is a question of resources and lack of scientific evaluation or research[28] on this integrated mode of teaching” (AT.P.1).

Finally, teachers also voiced their concerns regarding the difficulty of the new curriculum, which was “good but written in a way that nobody understands” (AT.T.3). Teachers also referred to the overall low status of citizenship education as a subject on the margin that any teacher can teach or that it is only “façade and play, nothing else” (AT.T.7).

[28] There is an ongoing study at the University of Vienna that is trying to examine the integrated mode of citizenship and history in schools.

Chapter 6: Teaching Citizenship Education in Portugal

6.1. Country overview and the education system

Portugal experienced a dramatic historical transformation following the 1974 Carnation Revolution which ended the dictatorship and put forward principles derived from the Three-Ds motto: democratization, development, and decolonization. The dictatorship was established in the late twenties, after a period of social, economic and political crisis that followed the republican regime in 1910. The period was characterized by colonial wars in the colonies, high infant mortality, high levels of illiteracy, low income levels per capita, authoritarian control with censorship and heavy restrictions on the freedom of speech and association (Azevedo & Menezes, 2008).

Following the Carnation Revolution, visible efforts were invested in compulsory education and establishing schools for the masses (Fernandes et al., 2016). Inspired by humanist and democratic principles, curriculum reforms in Portugal during the 1980s, including the Education System Act (*Lei de Bases do Sistema Educativo*, 1986) introduced principles directed toward educating free, critical, responsible and engaged citizens in a multicultural society that respected plurality (Salema, 2008). In 1985, and after achieving some political stability, Portugal joined the European Economic Community, which also had an impact on educational policies and the approval of the Education Act and its aims (Menezes, 2003; Salema, 2008). One prominent step toward establishing a democratic model of schooling was the establishment of a comprehensive one-track system until grade 9 (which continues into the present time), which replaced "the two-track system (opposing lyceums [academic] and technical or commercial schools) that prevailed during the authoritarian regime – and that was clearly an elitist device associated with socio-economic selection" (Pardal, Ventura & Dias 2003 as cited in Azevedo & Menezes, 2008, p. 133). The revolution impact also addressed school curricula, such as the history curricula, in an effort to eliminate indoctrination and replace the glorification of Portuguese heroes with an emphasis on collective movements and structural changes (Roldão 1995, as cited by Azevedo & Menezes, 2008).

Education is free and compulsory from age 6 to 18 (two years more than the OECD average) and with comprehensive schooling, including the same curriculum for all students until age 15 (OECD, 2014). Pre-school education for children from three to six years of age is optional. Basic education (*ensino básico*, for children aged 6 to 15) lasts nine years and is divided into three "cycles":

1st Cycle (*1° Ciclo*, 4 years): includes 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th grades
2nd Cycle (*2° Ciclo*, 2 years): includes 5th and 6th grades (corresponding to ISCED1).
3rd Cycle, (*3° Ciclo*, 3 years): includes 7th, 8th and 9th grades (corresponding to ISCED 2)

Basic education is followed by three years of secondary education (*ensino secundário*, [ISCED 3]), intended for children aged 15 to 18. Portugal has four types of secondary education: 1. *cursos científicos humanisticos* (general secondary education); 2. *cursos tecnológicos* (general and vocational secondary education); 3. *cursos artísticos especializados* (art education); 4. *cursos profissionais* (vocational education) (Nuffic, 2016).

Higher Education follows for students who successfully complete a secondary education level or a legally equivalent qualification (level 5 or 6 qualifications)[29].

Schools are organized into groups or clusters. A school cluster (*agrupamento de escolas*) is a unit of schools, often geographically close to each other[30], from the pre-school education level until upper secondary education, which share one autonomous administration and pedagogical orientation.
Even though the country has made enormous progress to improve the population's skills and achievements, structural weakness continues in terms of training and qualification, including school failures and drop-outs. Despite recent progress, the country has one of the largest number of adults without upper secondary education of all OECD countries (OECD, 2018). According to the EU education and training monitor (2018), the early school leaving rate is still higher than average (and it is still above 20 percent in Madeira and Azores), although it was dramatically reduced from 28.3 percent in 2010 to 12.6 percent in 2017. The national efforts to reduce the rate include an initiative to provide free textbooks for students. There is also the concern about the high number of grade repetition with about one third of students aged 15 who repeated at least one grade (European Commission, 2018), and there is four times higher chance to repeat grades among disadvantaged students (Liebowitz, Gonzalez, Hooge & Lima, 2018).

Gender and socio-economic backgrounds have an influence on participation, performance and the probability of dropping out of schools. Equity issues and disparities in schools exist, including wide differences in outcomes and performance based on socio-economic (low income, low parental education level, migratory background) as well as regional factors (western coastal region and central regions performing better than rural northern interior and the southern regions). Variations are further influenced by immigrant and residential segregation and assigning students to the nearby schools (Liebowitz et al., 2018). Further, many children do not have a secure permit to stay and they face obstacles such as "an inadequate grasp of the language of teaching, lack of support in the educational process and problems in the home environment. This results in structural discrimination, in turn leading to disadvantages on the labour market, lower incomes and an inauspicious environment for the children of the next generation (CoE, 2018d, p. 29).

Several initiatives have been launched to raise the level of equity, social inclusion and to ensure less drop-outs in schools[31]. The Educational Territories of Priority Intervention (*Territórios Educativos de Intervenção Prioritária*, TEIP) are programmes related to districts with social problems and high rates of school dropouts that aim to combat social exclusion by improving the quality of learning, attending to students' needs, combating early drop-outs and absences, and improving transition to the labour market. The programme covers 16 percent of Portuguese schools (OECD, 2014; Rio, 2014). The National Strategy for the

[29] ISCED 4 corresponds to post-secondary non-higher education and ISCED 5 corresponds to a short cycle Higher Education programme, https://eacea.ec.europa.eu/national-policies/eurydice/content/organisation-education-system-and-its-structure-60_en

[30] This is dependent on the density of population and the area. Schools of one cluster are often near each other in a city like Lisbon, while they tend to be spread further apart in the countyside.

[31] Entrepreneurs for Social Inclusion (EPIS) aims to enhance social inclusion by providing education and professional training to young people in need (Rio, 2014).

Integration of Roma Communities (*Estratégia Nacional para a Integração das Comunidades Ciganas*, 2013) also aims to ensure access of Roma children to schooling (OCED, 2014). There is also a general support for students from difficult backgrounds, such as providing them with free school meals[32], transport, and materials (Sousa, 2000). In addition, instructional and means-tested support exist for students from disadvantaged backgrounds. It is also worth mentioning that Portugal has a high rate of inclusion of students of special educational needs (SEN), with 98.9 percent of the students attending regular school in 2016/17 (Liebowitz et al., 2018)

In spite of these efforts to address equity and disparities in school, Liebowitz et al. (2018), in their OECD Reviews of School Resources, argue that the country's efforts "appear additive and to some extend overlapping, without a clear vision of an overall strategy to address the needs of under-resourced communities and students" (p. 21).

Movement toward decentralization

A study named "Atlas of Education: Social and local contexts of success and failure – Portugal 1991–2012"[1], conducted by EPIS – Entrepreneurs for Social Inclusion, in partnership with CESNOVA – Centre for Studies in Sociology of the New University, presents the development of this key performance indicator for Education in Portugal in the last 20 years. One major conclusion from this study was the need for a decentralization principle in order to address early school drop-out and failures. (Rio, 2014).

While doing this research, Portugal was going through a time of change characterized by the launch of several new laws, pilots and programmes (outlined below). The most relevant to this research is the introduction of a project that aims to decentralize the education system and give more autonomy to schools.

- *The Project of Autonomy and Curricular Flexibility*: In 2017, the Ministry of Education launched the *Projeto de Autonomia e Flexibilidade Curricular* (PAFC)[33] as a pilot project for the school years 2017/2018 to break with the tradition of a nationally prescribed curriculum by shifting part of the central government's responsibility to schools and to put forward a new orientation that gives decision-making power to schools and teachers to use part of the curricular time in a way that suits the needs of the school population (Santo & Leite, 2018; OCED, 2018). The PAFC is based on the students' outcomes profile by the end of compulsory schooling and it includes citizenship education in its plan. Another important part of the PAFC is the shift to more formative and all-round assessment in grades 4 and 6 including project-based tasks.

Schools can now use up to 25 percent of the compulsory teaching hours autonomously according to their needs. They can create new subjects. They can follow a two-semester system rather than the conventional trimester system. Initial stakeholders feedback varies:

> "Some suggested these changes provided opportunities to dive more deeply into a set of skills and content, allowing them to address student misconceptions more

[32] The School Food Support Programme (Programmea Escolar de Reforço Alimentar, PERA, 2012) provided a morning meal to 14 000 students (2012/13) (OCED, 2014).

[33] http://dge.mec.pt/sites/default/files/Curriculo/Projeto_Autonomia_e_Flexibilidade/perfil_dos_alunos.pdf

thoroughly and employ innovative pedagogical techniques. Others reported that despite the autonomies provided, students still were expected to master the same total material and were tested on it in national exams. Still others indicated that the additional resources were insufficient to accomplish their stated goals." (Liebowitz et al., 2018)

Further, as indicated in the above mentioned OECD review, the school reviews, although school autonomy has been a priority in recent policies, it still does not include some areas, such as hiring of teaching staff and other human resources, organizational and financial responsibilities. In addition, different levels of school leadership and capacities should be taken into account to avoid any negative consequences related to equity and to open the door for genuine innovation in school (Liebowitz et al., 2018).

This Project sits within a collection of other ensuing and relating initiatives and programmes, including:

1) Students' Profile by the End of Compulsory Schooling (*Perfil dos alunos à saída da escolaridade obrigatória*[34]): issued in 2017 to codify what young people are expected to achieve at the end of compulsory schooling as well as needed actions and commitments from teachers, schools, and parents. Following consultations from the EU, OECD, UNESCO, the document developed as a reference for the organization of the education system, including curricula and pedagogical-didactic processes.
2) The National Skills Strategy: formed in 2015[35] to assess the country's skills system and analyse strengths and weaknesses in order to take needed action.
3) Changes in assessments which encouraged formative assessment and a diversity of evaluation methods. Also exams in the 4th and 6th grades are replaced with low-stakes assessments that highlight transversal skills across disciplines.

Other initiatives included: 4) INCoDe.2030: a 2017 strategy launched to promote digital competency; 5) New Law for Inclusion was issued in 2017 to especially integrate special needs students; 6) The National Programme for Promoting School Success was launched in 2016 to improve school retention taking into account individual schools recommendations; 7) Reinvestment in in-service training; 8) The 2017 National Education Strategy for Citizenship (to be discussed below) (OECD, 2018).

6.2. Citizenship Education in Portugal

Citizenship education has been a recurrent concern and topic in official and public debates in Portugal. Along with the transition to democracy following the Carnation Revolution and the integration in the European Union, there were strong voices promoting the need for education for democratic citizenship, which became a major concern for educational reforms in Europe in the 1990s (Menezes, 2003). Menezes (2003) maintains that addressing citizenship education in Portugal should take into account both "the specificities of Southern European countries and the communalities with the broader space of the European Union" (p, 1). The

[34] https://dge.mec.pt/sites/default/files/Curriculo/Projeto_Autonomia_e_Flexibilidade/perfil_dos_alunos.pdf
[35] Details are found here: http://www.oecd.org/skills/nationalskillsstrategies/Diagnostic-report-Portugal.pdf

history of democracy in Portugal is recent. The Carnation Revolution in 1974 ended an almost fifty-year long dictatorship, followed by two years of political unrest, which finally ended with the establishment of a Constitutional Democracy in1976. Education was a tool for social control with an emphasis on God, Fatherland and the Family and compulsory classes of moral and civic education (Azevedo & Menezes, 2008). The kind of education experienced by the Portuguese before the revolution and the role of schools in ideologically indoctrinating the youth created a feeling of fear and suspicion of any initiative related to civic education:

> "God, Fatherland and Authority were major themes in the school curricula during the dictatorship, so any new curricular proposal in the domain of civic education was intensely scrutinized, criticized and ultimately abandoned. As a result, civic education remained a strictly rhetorical social concern without agreement how schools should address political issues - and therefore, in practical terms, no space was devoted to it in the school curricula, apart from episodic and small-scale experiences." (Menezes, 2003, p. 1)

Ramos (2010) thinks that the historical development of the country, including the transition to democracy from a dictatorship is what makes citizenship education a priority in school curricula. After the revolution, several educational initiatives aimed to combat inequality and to develop the democratic and civic consciousness. The constitution approved in 1976, declared that:

> "Everyone had the right to education on a platform of equal opportunities to both access to and success at school. Being responsible for the democratization of education, the State was not entitled to orientate the education and culture to any particular philosophical, aesthetic, political or religious direction. Education was also expected to minimise economic, social or religious differences, stimulate democratic participation in a free society and promote mutual understanding, tolerance and spirit of community." (Sousa, 2000, p. 2)

Although concerns with citizenship education were present in the academic and political discourses, no significant practical implications occurred until the launch of the 1986 new Education Act. That is when "these concerns found a translation both in terms of the general goal of education, and in terms of the definition of a curricular area of personal and social education (PSE)" (Azevedo & Menezes, 2008, p. 133). Debates started regarding the aims and methods of PSE following the 1989 reforms, with conservative voices arguing that PSE should be regarded as "a subject of moral and values education, and therefore in direct competition with the moral and religious education mostly coordinated by the Catholic Church in the schools" and, on the other hand, emancipatory perspectives considering PSE as

> [A] combination of cross-curricular dissemination, whole school approach and a curricular area (not a subject) that involved knowledge, dispositions and competencies [which was in line with the discourse] that a subject-type organization, with tests, grades and textbooks, was not the most suited for the promotion of disposition and skills central to PSE – and in Portugal the fears of a re-edition of an ideological bias was even more vivid (Azevedo & Menezes, 2008, p. 133).

The conservative voices were favoured and PSE was defined as a specific subject, besides being implemented as a cross-curricular goal and the objective of a project area. Azevedo & Menezes (2008) argue how the implementation of that specific subject was "a complete failure" mainly due to lack of teacher training and a dominant culture and discourse that favoured the more "important" areas of the curricula such as math and Portuguese (p. 133). In 1998, a socialist government established curricular strategies that were more in line with emancipatory perspectives. A mandatory curricular space of Civic Education (1 hour per week) and a Project Area (2 hours per week) were proposed, with board guidelines that could be coordinated by any teacher regardless of her/his area. Students were evaluated using a descriptive grid of three levels, as opposed to the traditional one- to five-point scale.

Based on the following new paradigms of Lifelong Learning and Education for All, the 2001 decree law included three non-disciplinary curricular areas (ACND) into the National Curriculum, including:
- the Project Area, which aimed to promote interdisciplinary studies and project work methods
- the Area of Accompanied Study, intended to strengthen some curriculum content (Portuguese, Maths and IT teachers were mainly responsible for this area)
- the Area of Civics, aimed to provide the space for the development of education for citizenship and to help in the formation of responsible, critical and active citizens (Rio, 2014).

Following that, a growing offer of citizenship programmes at schools was noticed as well as research conducted on those school initiatives (Menezes et al., 2012 as cited in Fernandes et al., 2016). There was also an increasing interest in teacher initial and continuous training in that area. The Ministry of Education[36] initiated programmes and policies to address the issue of civics, diversity and equality in schools. One example is the creation of an "Intercultural Schools Kit"[37] which provided materials aimed at spreading awareness in schools about issues of diversity, inter-religious dialogue, immigration and minorities in children school life, as well as providing support for educators to deal with the curriculum from an intercultural perspective through modules and training programmes to encourage reflection, engagement and collaborative (Fernandes et al., 2016).

During the European Year of Citizenship through Education (2005), Portugal carried out several activities, including school initiates, building partnerships, seminars on teacher training, debates and discussion on human rights, environmental education and affective education, and dissemination of materials provided by the Council of Europeon teaching citizenship. For example, an international seminar on teacher training identified methods and competencies needed in teacher education in the area of teaching for democratic citizenship. The input from Portuguese participants highlighted the need for teacher education to consider certain emerging problems in the country, such as the recent immigration flow from Eastern

[36] Often in partnership with other organizations, such as the Commission for Equality and Against Racial Discrimination (CEARD) and SOS Racism (Fernandes et al., 2016).
[37] Published in the period between 1993 and 2011, in collaboration with the Intercultural Office and the High Commissioner for Migration (ACM) (Fernandes et al., 2016).

Europe as well as the immigration from Brazil and Africa[38]. For example, one project by the Jesuit Refugee Service non-governmental organization partnered with schools and teachers of various subjects, including history and geography, to promote intercultural understanding and social cohesion (Salema, 2008).

In 2006[39], and on the twentieth anniversary of the publication of the Education System Act, a national debate on education regarding improve education addressed the importance of an education for an "active and responsible citizenship" and set up the Education for Citizenship Forum to create guidelines to help schools and teachers in this area of education (Salema, 2008, p. 113). Following important recommendations by the Council of Europe regarding education for democracy, the Portuguese Ministry of Education published in 2006 the "Strategic goals and recommendations for an action plan of citizenship education," intended to offers students a base of knowledge, attitudes, and values directed at developing students as active members in the society who are committed to freedom, justice and solidarity (Esteves, 2012).
The curriculum area which was established by the 2001 decree-law under the guidance of the Socialist Party was removed from the general curriculum of basic education, through Decree-Law No. 139/2012, under the (conservative) Social Democratic Party and recommendations were given to offer only the second and third cycles of complementary flexible hours to develop issues of citizenship. Four years later, through the Order No. 6173/2016, the Ministry of Education, under the Socialist Party, renewed the plan[40] to develop the area of citizenship as a priority for the country. The above shows, as Fernandes et al. (2016) argue, the influence of the political parties in power on educational policies that concern citizenship education in the country.

National strategy for citizenship education

The National Citizenship Education Strategy (*Estratégia Nacional de Educação para a Cidadania*, ENEC)[41], launched in 2017 to reinforce citizenship education in the curricula, was coordinated with Students' Profile by the End of Compulsory Schooling as well as with the Project of Autonomy and Curricular Flexibility and were implemented as pilot projects in schools during the data collection phase of this research. All school were supposed to join in the following year.

[38] Immigration in Portugal is mainly from Brazil and ex-Portuguese colonies in Africa. The economic growth between 1999 and 2005 led to a large number of immigrants from the Ukraine and other Eastern European countries (Fernandes et al., 2016).
[39] Several national plans and strategies with a strong dimension of citizenship education were introduced from that date onward such as: Plan for Immigrant Integration, Plan for Gender Equality and Citizenship, Plan Against Domestic Violence and Plan against Human Trafficking (Rio, 2014).
[40] The 2016 Guidelines for Education for Citizenship put forward some themes such as Environmental Education, Consumer Education, Financial Education, Intercultural Education, Education for Gender Equality, Education for Development, Education for Entrepreneurship, Volunteering, Road Education, Health Education and Sexuality (Fernandes et al., 2016).
[41] https://www.dge.mec.pt/estrategia-nacional-de-educacao-para-cidadania

According to the Ministry of Education, the strategy developed within a framework that adhered to international initiatives such as the EU Paris Declaration[42], the UN Sustainable Development Goals (2016–2030[43]), UNESCO Global Citizenship Education: preparing the learners for the challenges of the 21st century (2014[44]), the Council of Europe Charter on democratic Citizenship and Human Rights Education[45], as well as national efforts and programmes launched to promote students' responsible participation and the building of a more plural, equitable and inclusive society through democracy and respect for human rights.

The different areas to be developed in the Citizenship and Development[46] curricular component are divided into 3 groups, as illustrated in table (7).

Table 7. The three areas to be developed in the new curricula component in Portugal

Citizenship and Development		
1st Group (compulsory for all levels): 1. Human rights 2. Gender equality 3. Interculturality 4. Sustainable development 5. Environmental education 6. Health	2nd Group (must be included in at least two cycles of basic education): 1. Sexuality 2. Media 3. Institutions and democratic participation 4. Financial literacy and consumer education 5. Road safety	3rd Group (optional in any year of schooling) 1. Entrepreneurship 2. The world of work 3. Risk 4. Security, defense and peace 5. Animal welfare 6. Volunteering 7. Others (depending on school's needs).

Source: Direção-Geral da Educação (Ministry of education)

Three approaches characterize the integration of the curricular component in basic and secondary education:

- It is cross-curricular in the first cycle of basic education.
- It is an autonomous component (organized by semester, year or other), in the second and third cycles of basic education;
- It is cross-curricular in secondary education, as well as in education and training programmes for young people at basic level.

The ENEC proposes that the implementation of the citizenship and development curricular component follows a whole-school approach based on the promotion of day-to-day

[42] Declaration on Promoting Citizenship and the Common Values of Freedom, Tolerance and Non-Discrimination through Education, 2015. https://ec.europa.eu/assets/eac/education/news/2015/documents/citizenship-education-declaration_en.pdf
[43] https://sustainabledevelopment.un.org/?menu=1300
[44] https://en.unesco.org/news/global-citizenship-education-preparing-learners-challenges-twenty-first-century-0
[45] https://rm.coe.int/16803034e5
[46] Education for development is an integral part of the ENEC and has always been included in citizenship education

democratic and inclusive practices to encourage students personal and social skills and the recognition of the needs of students and the community. Therefore, it can be concluded that citizenship education follows a cross-curricular mode in all school levels, including the second and third cycles of basic education.

It is important to note one issue relating to using the term "subject" in relation to the new compulsory component for the second and third cycles. The latest Eurydice report on citizenship education in Europe states: "Since 2017/18, 'citizenship and development' is being piloted in 230 public and private school clusters in the form of a compulsory separate subject in grades 5 to 9, and as a cross-curricular theme in the remaining education levels." (European Commission/ EACEA/ Eurydice, 2019, p. 17) The majority of the respondents I met insisted on using the term "subject". Teacher educators maintained that it was not a subject. After consulting several sources and carefully reading the strategy, it appeared that it was partly a matter of misinterpretation and translation. The new curriculum does not include a separate subject with a predefined curriculum but rather a framework and guidelines for schools to implement citizenship education as an autonomous compulsory component. It is compulsory in the sense that all schools in the second and third cycles of basic education must designate a 45-minute framework for a citizenship-related activity, project or course. Schools in the cases examined decided on a subject format, which might have created the confusion and the belief that a compulsory subject was demanded from the ministry. In the following sections, I will be using the terms "component", "curricula area/unit" as well as "subject" when quoting a respondent.
In summary, citizenship education is delivered through cross-curricular activities and themes in school subjects and as a compulsory disciplinary component for second and third cycles. Each school defines its curriculum following national guidelines.

6.2.1. Citizenship education and teacher education in Portugal

There is a general agreement about the importance and the need for developing teacher education in the field of citizenship education in Portugal due to the emerging importance of this curricular component (Ramos, 2010). Efforts have been made to provide teacher training for this area of education. For instance, between 2003 and 2006, a training model[47] was made available as part of a Master's degree in Personal and Social Training at the Department of Education in the Faculty of Sciences at the University of Lisbon to provide participants with theoretical and practical strategies in different curricular areas for all school levels (Collob et al., 2007).

At the time of collecting data in Portugal, the National Education Strategy for Citizenship has been adopted in the PACF pilot schools and some other schools but not yet at all levels. Nevertheless, a large nationwide governmental training programme on the teaching of citizenship education was in action, targeting at least one coordinator from each school irrespective of its participation of the pilot project (OCED, 2018). Interview data indicates that this coordinator would be responsible for organizing all the matters that addressed the

[47] The model was based on the Council of Europe EDC project on was introduced by Maria Helena Salema, a professor and the national coordinator for the Council of Europe EDC project, in collaboration with other member, including Isabel Ferreira Martins, Janine Costa and Manuel Tuna (Collob et al., 2007).

delivery of citizenship education at a particular school, including developing a school-based plan from the national strategy that suited the context of the school and reporting on education needs of teachers. In-service training for teachers in citizenship education is voluntary and offered by different training organizations. The most common organizers for in-service teacher training are school network training centres (SNTC), which tend to be more practice-oriented and higher education institutions (HEI), which are often more top-down and theoretical. An accreditation system has been established to accredit the training along an evaluation system that reviews the training courses[48] (Dourado, Leite & Morgado, 2016).

Initial Teacher Education (ITE) in citizenship education is mainly imparted through different curricula courses instead of being delivered through a specific subject (Collob et al., 2007). Universities, whether public or private, enjoy a good deal of independence and autonomy with curricular. The teacher educators interviewed in this research indicate how they often infuse citizenship issues in courses that often deal with society, culture, sociology, etc. Influenced by the Bologna process, like in many other EU countries, teacher education in Portugal has been characterized by the trend of universitisation (Flores, 2011; Alexandre & Ferreira, 2015), which can be seen as both "an opportunity and a challenge to improve the quality of teachers and the quality of training" (Flores, 2011, p. 467). Although this trend could be seen as a step to recognize the profession of teachers, it has led to some challenges as explained by Alexandre & Ferreira (2015):

> [A] university culture based on subject specialisation may not be the most adequate context to foster attitudes of interdisciplinary cooperation, or multiprofessional work. Secondly, a university culture that envisages curricula as a simple juxtaposition of individual courses may not be the most adequate context to foster a global vision of teaching within the movement of mass schooling. Thirdly, a university culture based on departmental compartmentalisation may not be the most adequate context to develop the links between theory and practice and, therefore, to engage teachers in reflective practice and teamwork (pp. 302-3).

As communicated to me by my supervisor, generally secondary level teachers have initial teacher education at universities and the majority of lower levels teachers (preschool teachers and teachers of 1st and 2nd cycles) attend are enrolled in a Polytechnic school and proceed to a university system in Upper Higher education. Some newer universities, however, such as Minho University and Aveiro University are preparing lower-level teachers to teach. At the university level teacher education, student teachers attend subject courses in the faculties of their specialization and receive pedagogical training at the faculty of education. (PPMI, 2017).

The strategy on citizenship education addresses the issue of teacher education, suggesting including the citizenship education component in initial teacher education. It also recommends that non-teaching staff are included in the specific training component since citizenship education is now a whole-school approach. The strategy provides a teacher profile of the citizenship and development subject, which states that the teacher is expected to:

[48] These measures are a part of the In-service Scientific and Pedagogic Council (Law 4635/2014) (Dourado et al., 2016).

• identify and respect cultural differences of students and members of the school;
• create situations for students to develop critical thinking, collaborative work and problem solving;
• promote learning situations that address community issues;
• have experience in team coordination and organizational capacity;
• attend/have attended training courses on citizenship education;
• have working skills in project teaching;
• be able to use technological mediums;
• be able to establish and maintain empathic relationships with students;
• be motivated to perform tasks without superior imposition;
• be recognized by the class council as the appropriate teacher for the coordination of the citizenship education of their class.[49]

In terms of initial teacher preparation, whether during their three years of undergraduate study in a subject area, or during their master programme of teaching, student teachers may have optional courses to deal with citizenship education issues, such as multicultural education, sociology and modernity, etc., depending on the engagement of the teacher educator. Many teachers do not benefit from opportunities to develop professional learning and their participation in training rate is lower than other EU countries (Liebowitz et al., 2018). Generally, the teaching profession is not considered an attractive profession due to low salaries and the potential mobility requirements across the country (PPMI, 2017). Moreover, Liebowitz et al. (2018) refers to the "constrained-choice teacher assignment policy" in Portugal represented by schools having "limited ability to express their preferences for a specific candidate or school profile. This results in a mismatch between the needs of schools and teachers' interests and skills" which, in turn, leads to considerable levels of dissatisfaction among teachers and affect students from disadvantaged backgrounds (p. 27).

As a result of communicating with teachers and teacher educators, it was communicated to me that teachers from any subject area could be involved in the teaching of the citizenship and development component if she/he had the willingness and competences mentioned above. Therefore, the decision is in the hand of the school coordinator. Nevertheless, social studies teachers were often selected as the first choice. In most cases, history and geography teachers were chosen first, followed by language and arts teachers, as mentioned by one history teacher who saw that it made sense since history teacher was a better choice to teach about citizenship topics than a math teacher.

Initial teacher education in Portugal focus on teachers' competences that address students as a whole, including addressing migrant students' emotional health and not only their academic records (European Commission/ EACEA/ Eurydice, 2019). However, in relation to preparing teachers in Portugal to deal with an increasing heterogeneous society and the need for Portugal to take part in the "Xeno Tolerance" project, Fernandes et al. (2016) argue that teachers are not prepared enough to deal with diversity and difference. They highlight some factors in initial teacher education such as the fact that the courses that deal with issues of

[49] https://www.dge.mec.pt/estrategia-nacional-de-educacao-para-cidadania

diversity are optional and the lack of intercultural communication and contact between beginning teachers and diverse communities.

6.3. Presentation and discussion of research findings

The following main findings were identified in the data from Portugal.

6.3.1. Tendency toward a personally responsible conceptualization of citizen

There is an overall tendency toward a personally responsible type of citizen as the ultimate goal of teaching citizenship education is schools. A "good" citizen is someone who is on time, expresses his or her opinion, respects others, does not litter, is critical, is able to participate in a debate or discussion, feels that she or he counts, etc.

In her efforts to avoid "artificial evaluation," one teacher explains her opinion about the need to engage students' perceptions and experiences in the evaluation criteria. The evaluative approach discussed below seems to be mainly focused on personal and individual behaviours, such as using the appropriate language, being friendly, avoiding conflicts with others students, etc.

> *I think we can talk to children and ask them "what do you think it is important?" for us to know and to do and the things they say we can use that to create evaluation criteria so when they say: is using language inappropriate or offensive and not being rude, being nice, being friendly helping, when I see someone arguing going there and help them to mediate a conflict. And then with this criteria, they can participate all of us they can evaluate them. Like "oh I'm getting better at being more friendly," "I have not been involved in so many conflicts with other kids." So they can evaluate themselves […]. Sometimes they say that we shouldn't evaluate I don't know he is throwing a pencil at me but maybe the week after that he doesn't throw it so that is good we can evaluate that this conversation had an impact for doing the right thing now so we can evaluate that and they can self-evaluate themselves so that is why they go to school to learn to be better every day. (PT.T.9)*

One vital aspect of teachers' tendency to connect citizenship education with discipline and behaviour issues is related to the belief of some teachers that citizenship education is mainly a private domain that belongs to the family, highlighting with that their conception of citizenship education relating to matters of character and morality. One teacher explains that by teaching citizenship she aims to make the students know how to "behave in certain occasions" (PT.T.5). One teacher explains that "some teachers can resist the idea [of teaching citizenship] and still hold on to the idea [that] education and being well behaved and good manner and being polite is for the family, so the family has to teach those rules in society so they come for school is for learning" (PT.T.9). When explaining why citizenship education is not treated as an important subject in schools, one interviewee attributed that to the way some schools and teachers view citizenship as a private issue and that "the family should do that kind of education" (PT.TE.2). Although the majority of respondents maintained their disagreement with that position and emphasized the school and teachers' role in teaching children how to be "good" citizens, it still reflected their conceptualization of citizenship

education as a domain to correct bad behaviours of the students. Some teachers complain how it was difficult to teach citizenship to students whose parents use bad language and loud voice, indicating that students often copy that inappropriate behaviour.

> *[I want my students to] listen to others; it is very difficult [to] listen to the opinions of others and listen to the teachers and then ask questions, after only not before. I wanted them to talk but to also listen to the others. (PT.T. 4)*

One noteworthy observation related to this argument is the distinction between two terms in the academic and public discourse. Interview data highlights the need to distinguish between the term "civic education" (*educação cívica*) and the term "citizenship education" (*educação para cidadania*) to imply that the latter includes a more comprehensive, progressive and critical approach and less emphasis on moral and personal development, which was the dominant concern and practice of the past. As noted before, this distinction is also visible in the data from Austria. It is also a part of the way the term "civic education" in many European countries, is assigned a less critical and less reflective connotation, that is often bound to nationalistic agendas and even indoctrination[50] (Olser & Starkey, 2005; Hess, 2009; Duerr, 2010).

A few interviewees referred to the 1980s when students from grades 5 to 9 had what was called civic education which was oriented toward personal and social development. The principal teacher of the class or what is called class tutor (*directora da turma*) was in charge of that subject. The teacher could be a teacher of any subject and she/he was responsible for reporting on the class evaluation, absences, feedback, disciplinary issues, paperwork, and other tasks. "This teacher had two hours a week, one hour for bureaucracy and paperwork and the other hour was dedicated to this civic education and personal development." (PT.TE.2) What often happened was that the time supposed to be used for civic education was used for working on homework or preparing for the exam of the main subject that the teacher taught such as Portuguese or maths. The time was also used for dealing with students' discipline issues when teachers confronted students about their behaviours or performance. "In the past, we had civic education but we discussed problems of the class" (PT.T. 3), one teacher reflected. She explained how as a student she was bored and thought it was a waste of time, since the students just played. Students would also complain about their grades and other school problems. With that in mind, interviewees agreed to the distinguishing between civic education and citizenship education.

Interviewees highlighted their understanding of the three-dimension impact of the recent citizenship education initiative included in the strategy, namely on individual civic attitudes, interpersonal relationships and social and intercultural relationships. There were a variety of overlapping understandings of these dimensions in the data. However, in general, the majority associate civic education with developing individual or interpersonal behaviours and relations and citizenship education with issues relating to the whole society and its wellbeing.

[50] However, such negative connotations may not exist in other continents.

Civic education is concerned with the relations between one and the other in the society and attending to the rules of law. Citizenship education is broader and it encompasses the civic, political, cultural, ethical, so it is a lot that is why it is hard to define[51].

Several interviewees maintain the need to transform the way citizenship education is taught in schools and to focus less on behavioural issues. They lament the fact that teachers are now teaching civic education and not the sought after citizenship education.

> *I think that schools should teach citizenship education and one of the [aims] should be civic education. I think schools stand to be more on the behaviour of students and civics on the problems of personal relations things that are more connected with the students and less with the society. (PT.TE.2)*

> *I think there is still a long road for us teachers to realize that teaching citizenship is not to teach students to arrive on time, to bring the material to classes, to put the finger in the air to ask permission to talk, this is a big problem and sometimes the school decides to give 60 percent for these issues. (PT.T.6)*

However, even when emphasizing the need to care for the society as a whole, data still revealed a tendency to prioritize individualistic activities and traits and what a person does or can do in her or his daily life to approach societal problems.

> *I can do something and there are many other things that we can bring now. Of course, I know I cannot put the paper on the floor so I have to be coherent with it I have to put it in the trash so it's just a small example of how one must be coherent so if I am against poverty what can I do in daily life to make the reverse of poverty? what can I do? so these are questions that are very important. (PT.TE.3)*

> *[A good citizen] is someone who knows to make questions, is interested in the problems surrounding him, and knows how to participate the discussion and resolution of different problems. For example, if they have near their house a garbage in the street, why is it in the street? They must go to the municipality and explain and ask why they don't have baskets. Someone who has an opinion and knows where to go to explain the situation. (PT.T. 4)*

For some teachers, being a good person and a good citizen go hand in hand:

> *A good citizen is being a good example for my children, my daughter. [it is to] fulfil my responsibilities, pay my taxes doing the right thing, doing no harm, being a good people. Maybe there is no distinction between being a good person and being a good citizen. If I'm not a good person, I don't see it how I can be a good citizen. (PT.T.9)*

> *One of the aims [of citizenship education] is teaching human and ethical values. Example, I don't need to teach my students to do good if I make good, my students*

[51] It is important to note that this division between the two terms is only valid within the current context and may not apply to another context.

will follow me and this is citizenship and most of the time they don't know they are doing that. (PT.T.1)

Similar findings were reflected in a case study conducted by Salema, Ferreira Martins, Costa and Tuna (2003) that suggests that "the focus on developing students' social competencies may reveal that the teachers' conceptions about aims and themes of the education for citizenship are not cantered on the need for civic participation, for commitment and responsibility to society but on personal and social development of their students" (Salema, 2008, p. 116).

Along with focusing on a personally responsible approach to citizenship, data of this research suggests the adherence to predefined mould or checklist and linear and rational approach to citizenship education:

We have a checklist and you directly observe and you can see if a student makes or does not make certain things, like be on [time] like in the group if they help and cooperate with the others. It is your way to evaluate this. If you ask a group work, you have to see that all work. What happened to that student that does not speak if he is segregated by the other? I don't know you have to pay attention to all of these behaviours and varieties. (PT.T.1)

6.3.2. Citizenship education and the pedagogy of discomfort

When dealing with difficult, sensitive and controversial topics which are often present in citizenship education classes, all interviewees agree that it is important not to avoid such topics in a democratic society where different views should be acknowledged and respected. Some teachers see discussing different opinions as the core reason why citizenship education should be included in schools. They also display a high commitment to discuss controversies in the classroom simply because of the vital role of being a citizenship education teacher and the tasks that come with it.

I think that a citizenship teacher has to be someone with an open mind. I cannot take taboos to my class. I have to be comfortable to talk about everything if they ask me. That's my role because citizenship is such a complete discussion, such complete issues and some of them controversial like I see there so I have to be prepared to talk about that and I have to do my homework. (PT.T.5)

All interviewees agree, however, that the task is difficult and requires courage and preparation and certain approaches which are not always present. The following statement provides an overview of the difficulty and complexity involved:

Controversial issues are mainly approached but not deeply approached because there was no fixed curriculum for it so teachers can choose only to go around these strong [topics], in Portugal, they are considered problematic and they may go against families' values, so it is not normally taught in school controversial issues. If they feel there may be a conflict they won't approach it. In my opinion, every person thinks differently. Avoiding the problem is not a way of solving the problem. I think they

should not. Of course, it is not easy and there are better ways to teach it than others […]. Controversial issues are controversial because some think one way and others the other way so if you just show one way it is not controversial but it is difficult to accept the opposite way that is why it is difficult to teach it. […Yes as a teacher educator], I teach multicultural education and there are lots of controversial issues and I see the difficulty. Students don't like to discuss it. In Portugal, they don't like to discuss it. Some countries like to, in Portugal I feel that students don't like to discuss controversial issues. (PT.TE. 2)

Four interviewees express the need to discuss teachers' hesitation or avoidance of approaching hard topics in Portugal in relation to the long heritage of the dictatorship, arguing that teachers' unwillingness or discomfort to discuss hard issues is attributed to the decades of fear and self-censorship that produced apathy and passivity:

We were in dictatorship so people don't used to talk about these kind of things even the older teachers, maybe that is why they avoid certain topics because they don't feel comfortable to talk about them so I think that we need to educate Portugal, you know, we need to educate our society to think about what we are going to do when we vote and why we need to vote. For me that is the main goal of this subject. (T. 5)

When asked the most prominent difficult topics that teachers address in the citizenship classroom, interviewees' answers ranged from political and historical to social topics. For some teacher, sexual issues are the most controversial and problematic topic to address currently. One teacher expressed her hesitation and inability regarding teaching homosexuality to young learners and hopes that some other teacher can do that task:

For example, in Cidadenia, homosexuality and normally they are very young. With the young I think it is difficult I don't know how to. I normally I pass to the science or the psychology teacher and religion maybe. (PT.T.3)

One teacher sees "sexual choices" as the most problematic topic in citizenship education classes.

First of all, because we are a very religious country and that doesn't help. […]. we have parents that question the authority that I have as the teacher to teach or talk about certain things. (PT.T.5)

The teacher describes how sexuality is approached differently according to the city or area and how "open-minded" it is. Now being a teacher in a Lisbon school, she appreciates that she is able to discuss non-mainstream sexual issues such as being a transgender. She describes how she approaches the topic from a human rights perspective that stresses the humanity of a person that is labelled different by the society:

I show them a video of a transgender guy and how he was suffering of bulling because of that and they loved it because they learned what is a transgender person and then they said like 'Oh my god how can they do that? he is just a person like us but I know

that at home some parents may not feel so much comfortable […] Anyways, I think that the sexual part is the most difficult part to talk about in schools. (PT.T. 5)

One taboo-like topic that often seems to be avoided by teachers is the issue of obesity. One respondent shares some memories about the time she was a student. She strongly believes that obesity should be addressed in the classroom as a social problem and that teachers often avoid when they should. She asserts that if teachers are not comfortable speaking with the students about their physical well-being, they should at least speak to a specialist or develop a support system to combat obesity among children in school, which could be an indicator of serious social and health problems. During my data collection in Lisbon, I noticed a few posters in the streets that read: "Say no to obesity!" From my conversation with some teachers I came to realise how it had been a recent concern to confront this taboo, especially by including "health" as a compulsory theme in the new strategy on citizenship.

One topic that was visible and consistent in almost all the respondents' answers was that of the colonial era. One respondent explains that "the long term controversy is the past" (PT.TE.1).

While the era of the dictatorship is also considered a little problematic, the colonial times are considered the hardest to address because with that topic many other heated issues arise. One teacher explains that speaking about the dictatorship is much easier than approaching "the past" since it brings along other tough topics, mainly racism and discrimination:

In the past you don't touch a lot. You could criticize the dictator but you don't do that in colonialism. […] Yes I think [the past is the hottest topic] because we bring another question very boiled like racism and intolerance. Nowadays there is a lot of racism in Portugal but it hides. You have a lot of conference and movies about racism and you think why, because in Portugal there is a lot of racism in police, schools, teachers, in medicine. (PT.T.1)

Several teachers expressed the predicament of teaching about that period of history and their cautious feelings when teaching in a diverse classroom.

First I am careful. Also because we have students that are black and they born here but parents and grandparents are not from here and they don't like colonialism, and Brazilians and so on but at the same time, I have to teach about the Portuguese discoveries. (PT.T.3)

It is noteworthy to highlight the different terms that respondents used to refer to the colonial era, such as "the past" or "the big problem" or "the Portuguese discoveries." The term "colonial" seems to be avoided. One respondent explains:

Some want the colonial wars to be a matter of the past. Everything is related to our colonial past and it is very sensitive to say colonialist in Portugal. Many Portuguese people don't want to think they were colonialist. I see on Facebook people call Lisbon the capital of the empire, I say which empire? [laugh]. That is a nostalgia about colonial past […]. They don't want to say colonies but part of Portugal. […]. The issues of colonial past is the one that comes back from time to time. (PT.TE.1)

To provide a further idea about the overall public discourse regarding the colonial past and the problematic use of the word "colonial", the respondent above spoke about a current controversy of what she called the "No-name Museum" that was being constructed in Portugal while conducting this research:

> *We have now a museum being constructed "about that" and I say "about that" because there is so much controversy about the title that it has no title yet. […]. Well first it was the museum of discoveries. What? What discoveries? There was a discussion on our TV. Historians can disagree about the word discovery some of them, the right wing or radical, [say] "No! discoveries [is ok]." In Portuguese, discovery is but we have another word I don't know how to translate in English. They say let us go with the traditional word of the word. We don't want to forget the glorious past of going and discovering. But we tend to forget the negative side. Others say museum of African, Asian and and, a very complex title that may not include every people. And another one the museum of the voyage! They are still constructing it and I don't know when the "no name museum" will open. (PT.TE.1)*

A few teachers express their beliefs about the need to deconstruct the dominant Portuguese narrative of the discoveries, which is often present in the textbooks, and present counter-narratives and counter perspectives:

> *There are many African students so I have carefully, because students come with home history and if I speak the big problem, the students say 'no no! the Portuguese people before were bad people' and my role is deconstructing this and explain the facts. I talk about this. It is important but I don't know if other teachers do. (PT.T. 2)*

> *I have to teach history like the discoveries and I always ask how do we do that, with peace with war with good intentions and put people thinking. Citizenship has this approach: making people see things from different perspective. What do you think about? What is the good or the bad thing? (PT.T.1)*

However, the efforts to bring in multiperspectivity and counter narratives is not often practiced by teachers, as several teachers explained. Even when some efforts and practices are present, they often lack depth and complexity and thus may run the risk of deepening differences. For example, the following represents one teacher's efforts to present counter-narratives. However, presenting the counter narrative was focused on how certain groups undermine the us-them narrative without going through the reasons or the contexts and circumstances that made those narratives mainstream and powerful and silenced the others.

> *I try to stay objective. First I give the information and facts. Then after that normally I read about other positions. For example, African and Brazilian history say something different. They say colonial county do bad things. I speak about the other positions and after I put the children working on research […]. Some critical and they don't like the Portuguese colonialism because they are Africans or Brazilians. I try to present the two positons. The Portuguese point of view and other point of view but the books are about the fact: we go to brazil and we discovered. (PT.T.3)*

One teacher refers to the lack of teacher preparation when it comes to teaching controversies in the classroom and the need for teacher training to go beyond binary explanations and narratives and the good vs. bad dualities and to engage in the depth and complexity of controversial issues within their unique historical contexts:

> *We are not prepared for most of these [hard and controversial topics]. I am not going to say no teacher is prepared but in general we are not prepared to work with human rights and to make a connection with the ancient colonies because me as a teacher and I am one of the youngest teacher at school, no younger teacher is coming in, in my primary education, the teacher always told me we have been a great empire and when we go to African everything was great because in African they had nothing and we developed them, ok those kind of things, now we know this was not exactly like this of course but I am not sure if we are as teachers are ready to open this kind of topics. Like I told you, I am one of the youngest teachers, most of the teachers are much older than me so their primary education was even strongest about these topics so it is very important that we as teachers can have specific training in to read the past in a different way it is not that we should we say we did wrong things in the past, this is not the idea. We must analyze the things according to that time but we cannot continue to say today that everything was good. We can understand why this did that in that time but today we cannot agree with the things that have been done. […]. We need to work with teachers to work on these hard topics like you said. Sexuality, homosexuality, it is not easy for teachers with mainly 50 years old or 60 to do these topics because they are not prepared to work this with the students. We have some ideas but ideas are not enough we need specific training. (PT.T. 6)*

Another teacher educator highlights the need of teacher training. Even if the teacher has the courage and willingness to discuss controversial issues, she maintains, they still lack preparation to deal with them in a diverse classroom:

> *I mean for me we don't have taboo topics, we mustn't have. It is my point of view. Of course if we are working with adults it is not the same as with working with the young. Teachers need training on every subject and these are very difficult subjects and the training must not only be on the content but also on techniques on how to work these topics so that you don't have violence in the classroom because you can have different people, different sexual orientations, different skin colours, different religions. (PT.TE. 3)*

When engaged in teaching about sensitive and controversial issues, some teacher's answers highlighted various mind-changing experiences, struggles and reflections. One teacher conveys a real struggle inherent in teaching controversial issues and having to maintain a bridge between her commitment to teaching citizenship which may include confronting students with discomforting values and interpretations on one hand, and respecting and caring for the students' different culture, values and wellbeing on the other hand:

> *I say my own opinions to my students I try to be very clear that this is my opinion you don't have to think like me and probably your parents might have a different opinion of this what I am saying and that is ok. your parents can disagree of everything I say*

and that is not a problem because we have one thing that we will agree all on is that your parents want the best for you and as a teacher I want the best for my students, we can disagree on everything but on this we will agree the rest of our lives. (PT.T. 9)

The same teacher also goes on to provide an honest and thought-provoking self-reflection on her own bias and prejudice when teaching about topics she doesn't agree with:

I tend to say this is my opinion this is how I see it because I don't want to have any conflicts but on the other hand sometime I kind of have very physical response when I have to listen to something that I don't agree and I thought about it, maybe I'm not that tolerant with different opinions and ideas and sometimes right wings ideas I don't see it that way and I just try to end the conversation there avoiding probably that discussion and with the students I emphasize that a lot, this is my opinion you don't have to see it the way I do just think about that. (PT.T.9)

One teacher explains how going into the discomfort zone and addressing "tricky issues" that other teachers normally avoid, such as sexuality, interculturality and the different religions, has made her a popular teacher among the students:

That is why I'm different. They used to tell me that "teacher I love your classes because you are different, and here we can think in a different way about what happens." I show them a lot of videos and we make a lot of debates. (P.T.T.5)

6.3.3. Citizenship education and the Other in a pluralistic society

According to formal policy discourse, diversity in Portugal is defined in relation to "migrant, minority, ethno-cultural, religious and linguistic background" (PPMI, 2017, p. 119). Along the provision of citizenship education, Portugal has emphasized teachers' competences for diversity to address issues of multiculturalism, inclusion, free speech, equality and respect of ethnic and religious minorities. Some ITE programmes provide courses on diversity and cultural differences and during the practical stage student teachers have a chance to teach in a diverse classroom. However, there is no criteria to evaluate these procedures and it is often left to the teacher educators themselves to ensure exposing students teachers to the theories and practice of diversity (PPMI, 2017).

The following presents three key themes that emerged when looking through citizenship education provision in a diverse classroom.

The nation and the others

Data reveals that although citizenship education tends to historically promote a national identity, the scenario in Portugal is a little different. Some teachers do refer to how teaching about certain topics in citizenship education is capable of promoting a unique Portuguese identity. Textbooks are not strongly nationalistic but they are not anti-nationalistic, as indicated by one respondent (PT.TE.1). Several teachers maintain that teaching about Portuguese history often revives feelings of nostalgia toward a large and glorious past. A few teachers feel that this should be balanced with counter narrative showing the other side of the

glorious past. It can be argued that one aspect of the Portuguese national identity is still connected to the past and the empire, or "the hidden empire" with which Leal (2008, p. 48) presumes a relation with contemporary arguments of Portuguese national identity. To provide a general statement about the Portuguese national identity, Leal's (2008) comments are relevant in this section:

> If the empire has such a powerful presence in Portuguese culture, it pervades everyday discourse on national identity. In fact, it could be argued that a structuring idea of Portuguese national identity is summarized in the expression: 'We are small, but once we were great.' In other words, nostalgia for the empire is one of the main features of the shared discourse on national identity. In the Portuguese case, one of the major agreements upon which Portuguese national identity seems to rest is founded in a kind of excessive remembering of the Age of Discoveries (p. 48).

However, generally speaking, nationalism, although present and maintained in Portugal (Cunha & Cunha, 2010), is not a big concern in Portugal like in other countries. In fact, data points out that a European identity and belonging is more prominent than the national in the Portuguese context. One respondent explains:

> *Eurocentric yes but nationalist no not in Portugal. Many are nationalist but it is not a concern but we are very Eurocentric. When there are some surveys, I think Portugal is the one of the countries which value the most being European. I don't think nationalism is a problem here. (PT.TE.2)*

Another interviewee believes that the football has become the channel of nationalistic sentiments after joining the EU:

> *When we were about to enter the EU, some were like "oh what would happen to the Portuguese identity and the Portuguese history?" and suddenly those patriotic symbols that were linked to the dictatorship all of them we didn't want anymore. The football changed everything. (PT.TE.1)*

Another aspect of the Portuguese identity has to do with immigration and a diverse population. For a long time, Portugal received immigrants from mainly PALOP (Portuguese speaking African countries) and Brazil. Further, the last few decades have witnessed immigrations from different countries, including Eastern Europe. This new wave of immigration could be seen in relation to Portugal's "shifted from a place people had to leave in order to seek their dreams of greater prosperity to a place where the standards of living and public services now attract immigrants and returning Portuguese retirees" (Cunha & Cunha, 2010, p. xiii). According to the Council of Europe (2018), there were 392,969 foreigners[52] living in Portugal in 2016. In the same year, 757 refugees were resettled and 1,469 people applied for asylum. This had forced education and schools to adapt to this new reality of increasing multilingual and multicultural students. Following the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, national

[52] The number includes 81 251 from Brazil, 36 193 from Cape Verde, 34 428 from Ukraine, 20 428 from Romania, 19 384 from the United Kingdom, 18 445 from China, 16 876 from Angola, 15 306 from Guinea-Bissau, 8 840 from São Tomé and Príncipe and 2 823 from Mozambique (CoE, 2018).

legislations give rights of equal treatment in access to education regardless of race, language, place of origin, or religion (Esteves, 2012).

Intercultural education

Interculturality is one of the main compulsory citizenship themes that the new strategy put forward for schools to adopt in its effort to make schools and curricula inclusive of all. One respondent (PT.TE.2) indicated how many schools in Portugal support the Charter of Educating Cities[53] which clearly states that diversity is essential in the modern city. Esteves (2012) notes that the Charter poses some challenges to schools and teachers to facing the educating city is to "foster a balance and harmony between identity and diversity, taking into account the contributions of the communities of which the city is comprised and the rights of all those living in the city to feel that their own cultural identity is being recognized" (Esteves, 2012, p. 9).

This research data reveals that the general understanding of intercultural education seems to be confined to a specific content or theme that celebrates and acknowledges the different students and different backgrounds. There is an overall misunderstanding and confusion regarding the term and whether it should be a specific content delivered or a whole approach to deal with diversity. One teacher explains that interculturality is often misunderstood or perceived superficially by teachers, particularly the older ones who did not have the training or the discourse that is now starting to be available:

> *When I make my formation teacher, there were 50 years old, 60 years ago [teachers]. At the university, one teacher speaks about interculturality, only one. Now there is a subject at the university that speaks about this. A long time ago nobody talked about it. What is this multicultural? Now it is a big subject and people speak about this. Sometimes people only speak about it. They don't know, just speak. For example, there are people who think they know what intercultural teacher. They think intercultural teacher is a teacher who has students from many countries in the class, you understand. (PT.T. 2)*

Generally, a celebratory approach to diversity was often noticed by teachers who took pride in belonging to a school or teaching in a classroom that they described as diverse or multicultural. They also maintained that they treated everyone the same. On the other hand, the other, whether an immigrant or a minoritised student is a cause of tension for some teachers. A few respondents referred to how teachers are afraid or unsure how to handle new immigrant students who do not speak Portuguese well. Several teachers acknowledged that the background of the students and the colour of the skin does influence how they address certain topics in the classroom, such as colonial history and racism. They are often more careful or unsure how to handle some potential conflicts or they might just avoid them altogether.

Along the country's effort to combat racism, Portugal issued a new national anti-discrimination law in 2017. Racist discourse is rare and disapproved. In 2017 the President acknowledged the injustices committed during the slavery period. However, as noted by the

[53] http://www.bcn.cat/edcities/aice/estatiques/angles/sec_charter.html

European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR) reporting on Portugal, hate speech and racism are present in public discourse, particularly on the internet by far-right groups, and are aimed in particular at the Roma, Black People, Muslims and LGBT (CoE, 2018d). Six respondents were very vocal about the need to face racism and prejudice in society and enhance the role of schools as a counter discourse and practice to build a just an inclusive community. One teacher referred to how some parents disregard their children causing problems to other students if the victims are of black colour and her role to confront that:

> *They are the parents they are very racist for example, you understand. I said there are problems with another colleague. They say "yeah a black colleague" you understand me? There are few people but there are people like that. Yes [there is racism] but education [can help] because children grow up in schools and they spend a long time in schools. It is my role. (PT.T.2)*

One teacher educator suggests using research and statistics to confront students with racism, which is often hidden and not talked about:

> *One way to [confront racism] is to present research. For example, Portuguese have the idea that they are not racist, but latest research shows that a high percentage, about 40 percent, of people don't like their child to be married to a gypsy. There is more racism toward gypsies than Africans. (PT.TE. 2)*

Another respondent maintained the role of school to combat inequality and racism that is prevalent in the society:

> *I think schools is probably the better or the best space to try to combat inequality between children in the lessons because when they go out of the school they continue to being unequal, they have unequal access to tools and resources but school can be very good place to try to diminish or abolish the differences between students through the knowledge, of course, the scientific knowledge but also through these opportunities of learning how to be a part of the society even though if you are a poor or if you are not white or from a minority background but if school does not do this mission or this role, I don't know which other space have this capacity so we trust very much in school I'm not talking about university because only few arrive to university. (PT.P.1)*

Although tracking is not formally practiced in the country, this research detected a few examples of schools where "bad" students are grouped together in one class. The majority of these segregated students come from minority groups. Besides that, there are disparities among schools, depending if the school is public, private or a TEIP school, for example. One respondent mentions that teachers often do not teach citizenship education as it should be in difficult schools, such as the TEIP schools. They do not, for example, engage in critical and reflective debates or discussions, because they are overwhelmed with many problems and a large size of students who need help in basic skills. There is also a tendency among teachers to have low expectations of the students and to view them as less deserving or not ready for citizenship education, although they are in need for education and schooling more than the others. One teacher explains that she cannot imagine how she can deal with a child whose

parents come to the school and speak loudly and rudely to her. She thinks that this child will grow and become like his “uncultivated” parents.

Another important observation is that a general discourse among interviewees in that students of all colours and backgrounds are treated equally and should be treated equally, neglecting with that the different conditions and opportunities that they have which may grant some of them more access and opportunities than others. Therefore, there exists a need for teaching practices that are geared toward the recognition of difference. This was also suggested in the national report on Portugal by Fernandes et al. (2016) which recommended practices capable of lessening the "cultural blindness" in schools, which can sustain “discrimination, xenophobia and even racism” (p. 19).

Data also indicates a tendency to view democracy and citizenship and several other values such “success” being a “good citizen” or a “good teacher” from an ethnocentric or Eurocentric Western perspective that does not often promote other alternatives or other cultural views. There is an overall emphasis on being a European. The examples mentioned by teachers which referred to non-European cultures addressed mainly food or natural disasters. Throughout the class that was attended at one school, the teacher spent the whole 45 minutes describing how the election process works in the EU parliament. Other student languages and norms were often treated as a burden and a struggle rather than a source of knowledge or an asset.

Two respondents referred to the need to rethink school textbooks in a way that encourage questioning master narratives of the past and expel stereotypes about other ethnicities and cultures and binary developed north and the underdeveloped or developing south. Such concerns are echoed by textbook research in Portugal such as the study by Araújo, Maeso, & Alves (2013). This also reflected in a recent recommendation by ECRI for Portugal to problematize the "discovery of the New World" narrative, to recognise “the contribution of afrodescendants, as well as Roma to Portuguese society” and to “raise awareness of society as a whole of racism” (CoE, 2018d, p. 20).

6.3.4. The dilemma of assessment in a value-laden area of education

According to the new reform, schools are now accountable for reporting on how they use the given timeframe to develop citizenship education by providing proof and documentation and by following some evaluation criteria to grade students. Within the flexibility and autonomy framework, schools are given recommendations and guidelines from the ministry on how to develop a citizenship education area and evaluation criteria but the final decision belongs to the school. A policy expert explains:

> *We did some recommendations but we didn’t have power to decide what it should be but we thought this should be evaluated as a subject and it also should be included in the grades at the end of the year and should be evaluated as the other [subjects]. […]. This is a subject of the curricula, and they have to be evaluated as they are evaluated*

in the other subjects but if it is through written exam or through personal projects or in fact I think but I'm not sure that the schools have the power to decide. (PT.P.1)

Interview data as well as conversation with teachers suggest that having a compulsory area designated mainly for citizenship is partly to ensure that citizenship is actually being taught in schools and not just rely on a few initiatives introduced by committed teachers.

The transversal mode, in particular, is believed to be the most challenging and the hardest to track since teachers do not have time and enough training to deliver it along their main subjects. One respondent recalled the time when she attended a teachers' meeting as a students' representative. During the meeting, the Portuguese teacher and the physical education teacher signed up to teach sexual issues and environmental issues respectively. The respondent expressed her frustration as the two teachers never addressed those issues in their classes where she happened to be a student.

Teachers now are obliged to grade students and report on their activities in the classroom. One teacher explains how the new reform marks a transition between the possibility or option vs. the obligation of doing something for citizenship:

Now citizenship is the main goal of the 21st century. It is in the focus. It was not a new concept but in practice you have to do something now. In the past you could do something, no obligation. From 2015 on it is the focus. (PT.T.1).

Evaluation in citizenship education has also become an essential part for students' transition from one grade to another:

Just now this year for the beginning of the 5th and 7th grades, this citizenship is important for the next year. You have to have a good mark there to go to the next year, it is now counting as a discipline, until now you can't do good and you can still progress, but now you have a mark, from 1-5. 3,4,5 are good. (PT.T.4)

But what is being evaluated? And is evaluation possible? And is it necessary? One teacher indicates that evaluation tends to be "qualitative" focusing on areas such as "collaboration with colleagues, respect, initiatives, critical thinking" (PT.T. 3). The majority of data on evaluation strongly illustrates how promoting student's attitudes, such as respect and tolerance is more favourable and important than the cognitive part or the knowing about democracy and what it entails. One teacher clarifies:

In all the classes you have part of the evaluation is the cognitive content another part is the attitude and behaviours […]. Now we need to evaluate. It is difficult to evaluate if someone is tolerant or someone is not racist. It is difficult but you have to check it. (PT.T.1)

The interviewee above, like all the other interviewees in this research, acknowledges the difficult task of evaluating students, particularly when it comes to attitudes. One teacher maintains that the kind of evaluation in citizenship education falls under the umbrella of formative evaluation and not summative evaluation since the intention is not to "train" a good citizen:

Assessment is always very difficult because do you evaluate to select or do you evaluate to make formative evaluation? […]. I am not selecting the good citizen, I am not trying to be formative and train the students to try to be good citizen. It means that most of the percentage of what we do in this discipline is to monitor the behaviour and not to go ahead and tell them what is citizenship but I think your question is important because our culture of evaluation is difficult because we are always seeing what kind of mark will I have and that does not help but nevertheless this is evaluation that was done for the progression of the student but I see it as mainly as training for citizenship but not as summative evaluation. (PT.TE. 3)

The following represents a translation of an evaluation criteria chart developed at one school visited during this research. As shown below, more importance is assigned to attitudes. Schools have the autonomy to manage their criteria differently, but in general data collected elsewhere also reveals an emphasis on behaviours and attitudes.

Table 8. A sample of evaluation criteria guide for citizenship education in a Portuguese school

Domain	Parameters	Weight
Knowledge and skills	Knowledge (relevant content) Capabilities, skills (actions taken to learn)	**40%**
Attitudes	Responsibility (punctuality, fulfillment of commitments / duties) Attitudes (show that you have learned) Autonomy Effort Persistence Organization Procedures (surveys, group work routines, text / message production) Interpersonal relations (respect, dialogue, cooperation) Critical attitude Respect for the difference Respect for human rights Appreciation of values and concepts of national citizenship	**60%**

Source: a school document

One teacher working at the school from which the above criteria was retrieved reflected why it was important to designate more weight for attitudes:

I think that makes sense, because from my point of view citizenship is a subject when you basically want to evaluate not the content itself but the human part so I think that

it makes sense for me that you give more importance to how they feel about what they discuss and not so much about what we discuss, so behaviour, organization, searching, critical thinking, all that, for me, is more important one than knowledge about laws or something like that. (PT.T.5)

Living and practicing democracy instead of learning about it was one goal that several interviewees maintained. On the one hand, teachers' focus on student attitudes, behaviours and engagement in the class can be seen in relation to their beliefs that democracy is a way of life and their efforts to make students practice democracy instead of just learning about it through knowledge transfer. One teacher explains:

When we work with students we try that the way we work with them becomes a structure that it is in itself democratic way of involving them so they experience the way of being in a democratic society and not just teaching them what is democracy. They experience it in the way we work and the way we structure the activities. (PT.T. 8)

This "living democracy" discourse, also equivalent to teaching through democracy (Biesta, 2006), which was discussed earlier, is also used as a defiance procedure against the test-driven rationale to schooling, which is considered to be undemocratic and not in line with teaching for democratic citizenship. One teacher indicates why this approach is challenging for teachers and students who are wired to think of written tests and how much credits they have to pass:

We must put the students to work. It is difficult for the teacher and the students. Students think a test is enough and that they have enough credits. (PT.T. 3)

This "living democracy" discourse is also stressed by the new legislations on national and international levels. The strategy clearly indicates that "diversified assessment methodologies and instruments is recommended, valuing the diagnostic and formative modalities, not limited to an assessment of theoretical knowledge acquired."[54]

Overall, although data reveals that primacy is given to student's feeling and doing over theoretical or cognitive knowledge, there seems to be a disagreement and confusion regarding the way teachers conceptualize assessing attitudes and behaviours. Generally, data shows that teachers value participation and engagement.

[Evaluation] is difficult. We have criteria but It is more on participation and involvement in the classroom. (PT.T.4)

Another teacher explains her understanding of students' involvement and participation which tends to grant the active ones the possibility of full marks, and the less active or the quiet ones less visibility:

- Yes it is difficult [to evaluate]. I give 3 to everyone. [giggle]

[54] https://www.dge.mec.pt/estrategia-nacional-de-educacao-para-cidadania

- It is not possible to evaluate a student with a 5?

- Okay, if he participates if he collaborates in the tasks of the class and so on but it is more their involvement in the class than the domain of the subject. I can't evaluate if he knows what it is human rights, that is not the goal, the goal is to evaluate the student participation in the debate in the organization of the materials making an action in the project, etc.

- How about the silent students?

- I don't know. It is difficult, maybe in 5 or 7 years when they start to participate in their associations or future workplace, I don't know. (PT.T. 4)

The above also illustrate teachers' pursuit of academic excellence from a neoliberal efficiency and standard-driven perspective.

The following teacher provides her understanding of certain attitudes which are to be observed and noted to grant students a good grade:

Yes but it is difficult to observe [attitudes and values] while a student is sitting in the chair. Nevertheless, here you have some data on students and each class a director [tutor] of the class and has info on discipline and behavior they have with other colleagues and teacher. Now we are making separation between problems between student and student and student and teacher. You also need to bring your materials, your book and homework because that is also something that is not very good to have a good environment in the class if you don't pay attention to it. (PT.T. 4)

In spite of the difficulty, some teachers maintain that teachers need to carefully scrutinize and look for certain behaviours:

We have a checklist and you directly observe and you can see if a student makes or does not make certain things, like be on [time] like in the group if they help and cooperate with the others. It is your way to evaluate this. (PT.T.1)

One teacher reflects on some problematic aspects about the way schools and teachers understand evaluation and the way attitudes and behaviours are addressed, which was also addressed previously on dealing with the tendency to promote a personally responsible citizen:

Ok evaluation is the most difficult part. Mostly in my opinion, because we should question ourselves about what we have been evaluating at school for the last 20 years because if we are evaluating student's competences, we are evaluating their knowledge, their attitudes and values. One of the problems is that for many years we are used to identify the word attitudes with behaviours. That is why schools have 60 percent for behaviours. I think there is still a long road for us teachers to realize that teaching citizenship is not to teach students to arrive on time, to bring the material to classes, to put the finger in the air to ask permission to talk, this is a big problem and sometimes the school decides to give 60 percent for these issues and not really for attitudes related to knowledge because I can't have a correct attitude related to

human rights if I don't know the basic principles of human rights. To have a good attitude toward my colleagues, I must realise that we are all people no matter the sex, the religion, the country all of that. Students must know this. Knowledge is also important. This is a problem. For me as a teacher, I don't use tests because tests only evaluate knowledge not the rest and if the idea is to work on project-based learning I must evaluate the project. During a project, I need to be aware if that group of students can work together if they accept the opinions of others. If we are discussing sports and one student says to a girl "oh come on, you know nothing this, you are a girl!" this means that students still didn't realize they are equal. We must use this evaluation during the process. But this is very hard because we need to take notes and it needs time and we don't have much time. Sometimes, we should have an online app that could help us. We should also use auto evaluation and students to think about their work and ask them to evaluate the work of their colleagues. This is not easy. Personally, this [evaluation in citizenship] is one of the topics I want to study more. I am trying to study more the framework by the Council of Europe on democratic culture because they have good ideas on how to evaluate students and this is the hardest part of the project, and then deciding we are going to evaluate only the citizenship class or to involve all the teachers who teach as cross-curricula. You notice I didn't give you a direct answer because I don't have one. It is not easy. I see what we are doing but I don't believe this is the way. I don't agree. We should do it differently. (PT. T. 6)

Truly, by not giving a clear and definite answer about evaluation and by highlighting his lack of knowledge and willing to learn more about evaluation, the teacher above highlights the complexity of evaluation and the need to look beyond knowledge, attitude or behaviours categorization and to problematize what it means when we say an active or engaged student with good behaviours. The teacher then proceeds to give an example of a student who is very good, always on time, always well-disciplined, always brings the material and homework and takes part in the classroom activities. This student, however, when faced with a situation where he could share his ideas and knowledge with the other students in a group work, he keeps the good ideas so that the others do not make use of them and receive good results like him. By acting selfish and self-centred, the teacher argues, this student cannot be labelled a good active citizen. The above illustrates this teacher's differentiation between what is branded as good behaviour in most citizenship education programmes in Portugal and what he believes are the true democratic values and disposition that students should develop.

From the above the dilemma of evaluating becomes more pertinent. How can we measure values and attitudes and are we allowed to do so? Is it even democratic to assume and label certain attitudes about others as good or bad? Is it fair or democratic to demand all the students to fit the standards of what a good citizen is supposed to be like? Is it possible or necessary to monitor other's values and attitudes? Can a student have intolerant views about certain groups and yet treats everyone with respect? This research raises these questions for reflection but does not attempt to answer them since it is nearly an impossible mission. One respondent thinks that the practice of trying to make good citizens in school is an illusion and impossible mission in a free society:

I think that you can't escape freedom of teaching and learning and no teaching or learning practice can guarantee that our students are totally formatted in citizenship which we believe in. It is impossible. In an open society we must of course work in the way that foster and empower students to become better citizens but we can't guarantee the results. It is impossible. (PT.TE.1)

Another important question to ask is when a student gets a high grade in citizenship does that entail that he or she is a better citizen than the one who gets a lower grade? And when most of the grading attention is placed on participation and behaviours, what happens to the ones who do not or cannot participate? One teacher embraces a view that questions the evaluation criteria which could be unfair and exclusive to some students because of personal or socio-cultural reasons:

It is very difficult [to assess the students and what they know] because we are humans and because they have different backgrounds and for example in this class where I teach citizenship I have a student that comes from Cape Verde, it is an island in Africa and he was very very poor and it was very funny when we discussed the importance of school in our society and he said something like "I had to walk 4 hours to get my school. When I was there I was starving"so his knowledge about the world was different […]. I mean how can you evaluate citizenship when all of them come from different ways, when all of them have a different background? it is not fair, for example, that student that I have from Cape Verde, he is now learning how to eat three times a day because he didn't have that. Now he has book and notebook. […] I mean it is very difficult for me to evaluate them. (PT.T. 5)

6.3.5. Citizenship education between teachers' preparation and dispositions

As explained earlier, preparing prospective teachers to teach citizenship education or to engage in citizenship education topics depends on the initiative of the teacher educators.

There is no connection between the curriculum at the university and the curriculum in basic and secondary schools […]. I can admit they speak around several themes that have connection we work on in the class but it is not something like you can say that here you have a class that prepares you to go on and teach this. (PT.T.4)

One teacher educator explains how she attempts to integrate some citizenship education topics in some courses:

Every teacher should have basic knowledge in a subject area and a combination of general courses and didactics. There are some general courses such as school and society […], it is more related to values. We have discussion and reflection on values and societal problems. They have some courses but specifically they don't have citizenship education. Like here in the undergraduate, they had options, there used to be one called citizenship now they have multicultural education […]. Other universities may have other teaching curricula. I am sure some will have citizenship

education for student teachers. Here we only have optional courses such as multicultural education that approach areas related to this. (PT.TE.2)

One teacher educator expresses some concerns about the need to provide teacher education for citizenship education teachers and that history and geography teachers, who are often assigned the role of teaching citizenship, may not be well prepared for the tasks:

Citizenship, it is a kind of additional area many times taught by history and geography teachers but they tend to do traditional teaching and they are not prepared for that. if they come from history they know how to teach history and so on and they think historically but citizenship, as an autonomous subject, needs specific skills. They need stronger knowledge and in terms of some methodologies and strategies. Teachers of history and geography don't have specific education that is oriented toward citizenship. As far as I know in my university, they say they do that but they do not. To discuss to think about the world I think this is a core topic and perhaps that so far. (PT.TE.1)

The data collection of this research happened while schools were making the transition to the new autonomy and flexibility curriculum and implementing the strategy on citizenship. Some teachers had the chance to meet with some representatives from the ministry and speak about the strategy. However, organized and systematic procedures to administer in-service teacher education on citizenship education was not yet implemented. This could explain why many teachers felt unprepared and confused, as explained one teacher who referred to the challenge of preparing teachers in the context of *"a crazy time with many legislations" (PT.T.6)*. another teacher further explains:

The law changed this year. There are some schools which followed the law and other didn't follow […]. This year is the year for experience. My school does not follow the law but my last school followed the law. And there are some schools that stayed in the sky, you understand? But next year [2019] all schools must follow [...] yes signed this year is an obligation to make this matter but there are other matters or things that the school does not follow yet because it is an experiment but next year it is an obligation for all. […].Yes, teachers are confused. For example, citizenship is the new matter the school follows this matter there is a programme but teachers don't know the matter or the programme. Now I make with students and I don't know what I make because it is new. there is little training and few hours and the person [who] makes the training [at school] does not know the things yet. (PT.T.2)

Most of the training available was confined to the coordinators of the strategy at each school that participated in the pilot while training centres were still preparing to provide teachers with training the following year, as explained by the respondent below:

At the moment, I can tell you it is being prepared to start specific training on these specific topics. We have a training center from the association of schools. I don't know if you know what this means. For example, 20 schools in one area they have one training centre which is working with the schools so they can prepare training for those schools. Those training centres are going to prepare that specific training for

the teachers from next year on. This year we have training for the coordinators of the strategy we have worked a little on those specific topics of citizenship. (PT.T. 6)

Preparing teachers to teach citizenship education remains a pressing need, as indicated by several teachers. At the same time, they also referred to the obstacles that could prevent them from taking part in a training opportunity, such as time limitation and tight schedules.

There is no one or there are few people who sit with us, teachers and leaders, and tell us how I can do this. We don't have any support. We have the laws. We have to read the laws and understand the laws and transform the laws from the paper of the school and look for solutions almost alone. (PT.T.1)

No, not any training, we received some documents and in our library we have a lot of books that we can use and to take some activities and but we don't have any specific training. (PT.T.5)

We need training, training. Teachers' training never ends. Nobody can say I know everything about. That doesn't happen. (PT.TE. 3)

There is also the question of whether the training should include other teachers, meaning all teachers, who are expected to teach citizenship education transversally. While in-service teacher education mainly targets teachers who are teaching the compulsory citizenship component, data highlights the need to pay attention to the transversal mode of teaching citizenship. They acknowledge that most teachers do not practice it because of lack of preparation and guidance:

Most teachers value their subject areas and they don't feel they are prepared to teach citizenship education. They feel they don't have that competency. It is very difficult for teachers to feel they are able to do it and confident and sure about it. (PT.TE.2)

The research shows that in spite of teachers' emphasis on the needs and necessity of teacher training to teach citizenship, there is an equal and even greater emphasis, sometimes, on the personal disposition of the teacher. When speaking about what makes a good citizenship education teacher, one teacher explains:

I think it has to do with the personality of each teacher, but if you ask me if we have enough training, no we don't have enough. (PT.T.3)

When elaborating on her critical approach to historical narratives, one teacher (PT.T.3) explains that it was due to her "personality" but also her "formation" proceeding to say that not all history teachers think and do like her. Another teacher educator reflects on what makes effective teaching in citizenship:

First of all, it depends on the personal choice of the teacher. She has to teach but she may choose not to teach, this is the most problematic thing. It is left to the teacher to teach it or not. (PT.TE.2)

Another teacher explains how her humanistic approach to engage students in important discussions about the other, not the lesson plan or curriculum, is what makes her the teacher she is:

> *So that is how I feel I am very humanistic person and teacher and I really like so much to teach citizenship because I think that this is actually the place where I can discuss with them and make them think what they do and what they are and what they want to be and I like to discuss especially tricky issues that nobody likes to discuss like homosexuality the different religions all of that and that is what actually I like to do, not so much the laws and human rights that is not what I really like to do but I have to talk about that because it is in the program but it is not my favourite approach. (PT.T.5)*

Another teacher also gives more important to 'the heart' than 'the curriculum' because of where she teaches and the kind of students she deals with, which no training can sufficiently address:

> *I am a different teacher. For me the important is the heart. The curriculum is important, but the heart, the sentiment is more important because I work at a TIEP school, you know the poor school the different schools with students with many difficult economic social etc. and for me it is more important to arrive from the heart for the students because there are many students who don't come to school and they say schools "No, I don't like." For this, I want to arrive with the heart first and after my preoccupation is the curriculum. (PT.T.2)*

Speaking of dispositions and values poses the issue of the value-laden teaching of citizenship, as one teacher educator explains:

> *We are an open society and I can be a Nazi and I can deliver the discourse of the topic and but maybe I don't believe in it. I can be racist. I know teacher educators who work with university in teacher training. I know I saw that one or another teacher who are not democratic. How can they teach about democracy? I listen that some of them denying that history of Portugal has bad aspects like the slavery. […]. They are educating teacher trainees […]. We can't escape that in social science. (PT.TE.1)*

Like the respondent above, the following respondent also thinks it is not possible to impose values or control what teachers believe in since people can still hide what their true selves are. However, the following respondent insists that teachers confront their values and uncover who they are before they embark on teaching and passing on their values:

> *[Paulo Freire] has a very interesting term that I use very much when I teach it is that you have to take away clothes if you are racist. As I told, if you are racist, sexist, you should not be a teacher because it is a contradiction. It is like you have to be nude in front of your students […] so probably if you are sexist or racist you should not be a teacher or you should not teach education for citizenship because you have to be coherent in terms of verbal and non-verbal behaviour and also as a model of citizenship for the others but of course you cannot control. (PT.P.1)*

Considering how teachers refer to their teaching capacities or performance in relation to a dichotomy of training and curriculum on the one hand and their personal disposition on the other hand makes the argument that the two domains seem to be separate from each other and belong to two different spheres. This argument conveys "the belief that the educator / teacher cannot be just a mere agent that executes instructions from the nucleus of the system, but rather a social and culturally intervening actor who plays a significant role in the development of a more just and, therefore, non-discriminatory society" (Fernandes et al., 2016, p. 19). In their argument to question a highly universitisation approach to teacher education in Portugal, which widens the gap "between theory and practice" and does not allow for spaces to engage "teachers in reflective practice and teamwork" (pp.302-3), Alexandre & Ferreira (2015) makes it important for teacher training to consider the personal beliefs of student teachers' which form their knowledge:

> Given this context, it seems possible to conclude that after decades in which 'the person' was largely absent from the theory on how best to educate teachers, we are now witnessing a surge of interest in the question of how they think about themselves and how they undergo the substantial personal transformations they pass through as they become teachers […]. However, the reality of training and teaching reveals the pervasiveness of an inconsistency — or conceptual gap — regarding the decision about the best route to accomplish those very same goals. That contradiction is a sign of a conflict between a paradigm focused on technical rationality and true knowledge, and a paradigm centred on existentialism, in which knowledge is built in the course of a reflection process upon the meaning of each individual own actions and practices (Alexandre & Ferreira, 2015, p. 307).

6.3.6. Teachers' collegiality and communities of practice

One prominent aspect or request that respondents referred to is that of 'working together.' The majority of the interviewees maintain the need for collaborative work among colleagues inside the school and with other schools.

> *We have a lot of things to do in Portugal on citizenship. One of them you told me, teacher education/formation, we have to promote the collaborative works. It is very important. Nobody can do anything along. It is an illusion. We need each other. This is what all people say so I think it is important. (PT.T.1)*

> *Another thing that I consider very important. In each school, sometimes more important than making courses for that topic or the other it is important the relation between the teachers inside the school, what can I learn with you and what can you learn with me, and to promote this daily contact, and to ask how do you do it and what do you think about what I have done. It is also important to have supervision. You can go to my class I can go to your and discuss it in a way but building new things about the topic. (PT.TE. 3)*

Working collaboratively is also one of the recommendation of the new legislations in Portugal. It could also be related as put by several interviewees, a part of the Portuguese sociable culture and the importance of being a part of a community. One teacher envisions an ideal scenario where all teachers work collaboratively on a project on human rights:

> *For example, human rights. We are going to decide on a project on human rights and let us say we are going to prepare an online newsletter. We can ask the Portuguese teacher to work some texts about that. They are going to work on the Portuguese curriculum but also citizenship because they could study grammar but instead of using the text form the textbook they can choose texts on human rights. Then we can do a survey and we can ask the math teacher to analyse the results. So they are going to work on math but at the same time on citizenship. Then we need to do some graphics or online research then we could ask the IT teacher to teach students how to do research but on human rights and then when students can come to the citizenship class they could have a text from Portuguese, a graph from math, and a research from IT and put everything in the final product. If we work on this way, all teachers will feel that they are part of the citizenship project. Maybe not this year but I am sure that in the future when my colleagues will realise that this could work in good way it could be like a nice way. Then we will overcome this idea that citizenship is only for citizenship education. (PT.T.6)*

These findings resonate with a study by Shagrir (2010) who thinks that teachers prefer to work with their colleagues and that "[l]earning with colleagues adds significant layers to thinking, to discussions and to the manner of analysing issues in teacher education. Learning with colleagues from different institutions enables new models and frames of teaching and learning to be discovered and interpersonal working skills to be developed (p. 56). Teachers' reflection on collegiality and the supportive and rewarding aspect of working with other teachers gives reference to the way schools organise relationships in a supportive and democratic way. Several teachers appreciate the chance to listen to others and share their own points of views. Besides the opportunities offered by the ministry and the school based training centres, teachers have the chance to be involved in non-governmental organization or societies to be a part of an inquiry community. One of these groups that was examined in this research was *Movimento da Escola Moderna*[55] (MEM; the Modern School Movement).

"I call it my tribe" – MEM: An example of a democratic inquiry movement for teachers

The Modern School Movement (MEM) is an association of teachers that started in the 1960s. It was inspired by French pedagogue Celestin Freinet. It was also later influenced by Lev Vygotsky, Jerome Bruner, and other social constructionists. Teachers from all disciplines can join.

> *The name of this organization was first mentioned to me by my supervisor in Portugal. She put me in touch with a few member teachers. She referred to it as the democracy movement and the title itself intrigued me enough. I later found out that it*

[55] http://www.movimentoescolamoderna.pt/

was called the Modern School Movement. Because democracy was one of its main principles and way of structuring teaching and learning could have been the reason why it was referred to as the democracy movement. I felt lucky it had that nickname or I would not have been able to find about it! I had the chance to visit their office in Lisbon and interview three teachers. Those teachers were proud to be a part of the movement. A strong sense of family or community united those teachers that I met, a sense of belonging to a sanctuary place, a safe haven in a crazy, chaotic, frustrating and messy world, a sense of persistence and hope even when so many things fall apart and don't function. Meeting with those teachers reminded me of the time I was a teacher looking for something to hold on to when faced with so many ambiguities and difficulties. It gave me the inspiration and motivation to think of the potential of such alternative ways or channels that could save a teacher's sanity and provide him or her with power and hope. It could be that others will not see it that way and that my background as a teacher who desperately looked for alternatives and non-mainstream channels in a repressive teaching environment is impacting the way I see it. Maybe, looking for a tribe where you belong, meant so much for me as a teacher. (Researcher's journals, 2019).

In the following I present the data that illustrate how MEM is an important democratic learning space for teachers. The data below is derived from three teachers who belong to the MEM and the e-mail communications with one of them which provided some insights on the MEM's perspective of teaching for democratic citizenship education in the country. Many of the findings and themes below also interrelated and with the overall findings above.

1. Focus on teacher agency and bottom up change and transformation

One teacher reflected on a change in school leaderships that influenced the culture of democracy and teachers' decision making powers at schools in Portugal.

Some time ago[56], the way schools were organized were more democratic and after that we started to have principals and some of those principals stopped to listen to teachers and felt they were company CEOs or something like that […] So things come to us and we have to deliver and obey. But principals changed everything because they just say what teachers have to do. Of course, some principals have democracy in their principles but some became or thought of themselves as the authority or teachers' bosses. (PT.T.8)

The teacher further proceeds to illustrate how "the change" has weakened teachers' agency and left them with little support:

If we don't experience democracy it dies and we are used to be handled and having people telling us what to say and we forget that we may have different opinions and

[56] The teacher later indicated that it was about ten years ago when that started to happen. This could be a reference to the major school reform on school leadership introduced by Portugal in 2008 which increased the authority of the school principal (OECD, 2014). This reform can be viewed as a part of a neoliberal influence on education that was taking place in other EU countries around the same time.

things to discuss. It dies away. It is hard to build democracy and very easy to destroy it in some times and I think because in the beginning it is comfortable to have someone tell you: you do this and that but then these things come against us because when we have something we don't like. There is no space or way to say the opposite so that was a big change and we started to get used to be bossed around. We have unions but unions' concerns are more job [related] concerned not pedagogical concerns sometimes they lead them but it doesn't work very well. So we don't have, and also unions in Portugal are connected with political parties. They try to balance things but if we have in power some party that don't fight for our rights and claims. (PT.T.8)

The MEM view teachers as central and active agents who validate living in a democracy by creating a free, participatory and collaborative environment. Teachers are also constant learners and change drivers. They are the ones who make a difference in schools and not the educational policies:

For us it is not the law of the government who change the pedagogical practices in the classroom. In Portugal and other countries there are many laws to change the thinking of teachers but for us it does not happen like that. It is more a conscious of the citizen in each teacher who makes the difference and not the law. (PT.T.7)

One teacher explains how the culture and the language of the movement has provided her with power, entitlement and agency, as a teacher, to understand the legislations, read through them and even question them:

I think our problem here is that there is a great number of teachers that think that the ministrio is an above identity that approves certain laws and then at school we just keep doing what we always have done because next year we have a different law. We don't have to pay attention to that and unfortunately I think it happens a lot among teachers and there are other teachers who actually are getting involved, they talk about how they interpret the legislations, the laws and they try to make some adjustments and change and try to learn more to improve the practices and I am lucky to belong to the movimento da Escola Moderna which has the culture and language, I call it my tribe because we have a specific language and we believe in certain principles and it helps me to see. (PT.T.9)

2. The way democracy and good citizenry is perceived

Being a major principle of the movement philosophy, democracy occupies a substantial part in the way teaching and learning take place. Democracy is viewed as a way of life, experienced through communication and cooperation. Therefore, the MEM finds it problematic to accept having citizenships education as a separate subject in schools:

The problem in Portugal citizenship is viewed as a subject and for us it is not a subject, it is a way of life that crosses all subjects. (PT.T.7)

The way that citizenship is being taught in schools is not what we believe in because they have created a subject and they try to teach some subjects that they consider

important so that someone can be a good citizen and we don't believe in the way things can be done that way. As we told before, we believe it is not though teaching that citizenship could be achieved. We think that we must create an environment, a way of students being in class and they experience the way they can be citizens. […]. It is not just a question of the subject where everything is concentrated. All subjects should have or think about the way students should experience democracy in their subject. In projects for example we don't believe that there should be a subject for students to know how to work in a project we believe that all subjects should have time to involve students in projects because each project has its own nature concerning the subject. So democracy should be something that transversal and crosses all over the curriculum. Not something that is done. (PT.T.8)

One aspect of living democracy in schools is adopting an approach to teaching and learning where everyone is a learner and a teacher:

This is a democratic movement where all of us can speak and give opinion and teach other and learn each other. (PT.T.7)

So we do with ourselves what we do with children. The way we work between each other is like the way we work with students. We call it isomorphic process: that means we don't ask students to do something other than what we experience ourselves so we put ourselves in the situation and experiencing also things that we experience with them because we also learn. (PT.T. 8)

Along the focus on living and experiencing democracy instead of instructing about it, the MEM does not suggest pre-defined concepts or visions of what a good citizen should be. Primacy is given to the democratic process and experience rather than the outcomes:

It is a life process to democracy. It is not something that we know what it is. It is something that is alive. (PT.T.8)

We think the teaching of democratic, it is not to teach the students to be democratic person but to work with them in a democratic process, that is our opinion. Sometimes we can't get there. (PT.T. 7)

We don't try to establish what is a good citizen. We try to have a dialogue and think about things and we don't try to come with preconceived ideas because each person has and we try to accept them and try to see and to think about which ones could be better for living with each other in society. (PT.T.8)

Moreover, MEM teachers provide some insights on what they consider undemocratic and unjust practices in schools and society. One teacher draws attention to the way initial teacher education is delivered at the universities, which she believes is anti-democratic:

The formation at the universities, when students are at the university to learn to be a teacher, the formation in Portugal it is the same a long time ago. We have teachers who don't know the democracy, they don't see the students. Teachers at the university

talk all the time students don't have time to think or create. I think Initial training in the university is so bad in Portugal, so bad. (PT.T.7)

Believing in inclusive education and giving all students the opportunity to learn and grow and appreciate the difficult background of certain students, one teacher expresses her struggle when she was assigned a segregated class in a school that contained all the "problematic kids" to make schooling easier for the others. To this teacher, such a class represented an unjust practice against children who needed schooling the most:

The school decide that children who had more difficulties in terms of behaviour and disciplinary problems and were not successful students [and] didn't have good grades and constantly failing and repeating the year, they should be all in one class and I was the directora da turma and that was just impossible. In free day I had students not every day but every week I had students fighting, it was extremely difficult to work with these kids who were out of school because this was a ghetto inside the school just for those students it was the first time I saw this sort of segregation in school. I knew that some groups some classes there are some schools who do this but those kids who need schools the most they don't give them an opportunity and put them in the same school. […]. when I asked the director how could you do this and put them all together and then the director was constantly repeating that idea that when there is a class and when there is one or two students who interrupt and disrupts everything and you kind of wish that those students were not there the class just go well […]. The majority were gypsies I had 8 gypsies, [and]12 African students […]. This is painful and this happens, this happens. (PT.T.9)

Another teacher highlights the difference and the unequal access to democratic practices in the way citizenship education is approached in some private and public schools. She explains how the culture of living democracy seems to be more validated and practiced in private schools:

Sometimes schools and generally and unfortunately perhaps private schools because they really know what they want for their students and what the parents want but public schools unfortunately sometimes don't think in that way. […] public schools know well they say we want our students to be the leaders of the society but the irony is that they want to become leaders through democracy but the way they experience democracy is not through a subject but through a syllabus the way they work and experiences they have and sometimes this does not happen in public schools. (PT.T.8)

3. The way teaching and learning is perceived

According to the MEM, democratic teaching and learning are grounded in real life experiences that reflect the society's problems, struggles and aspirations.

In our formation, the objective is not to teach the teachers how to do something like a method: now you do this and then this. we listen to teachers we have to work with their experience. (PT.T.7)

> *The way our learning is socially organized. The way each learning is organized could be different according to society too and as we believe in a democratic society, the way we structure learning must reflect the society we want because learning and schools must be part of that idea. (PT.T.8)*

When issues of racism, for example, are discussed, the discussion should include real life encounters and struggles among students and not reading about it in a textbook:

> *In a class life it happens situations of racism. That particular problem, that question will be addressed in a real situation and students can relate to them in a realistic way not artificial way. (PT.T.8)*

Teaching and learning should also be authentic, addressing current societal concerns and demands that are significant now:

> *We try to live and make them conscious of those principles so those things come out but they only come if they are really necessary, if they are really something significant at that time and not dealing with those themes as if something I am not concerned or involved, something I talk about but when I have to do something I don't have to do individually. It is something like we listen to things like environmental issues then I go home and I don't care. We try to not just talk about things but make our action to do what we think and change the way we behave. (PT.T.8)*

Democratic teaching and learning also mean that both teachers and students take the time to think, reflect, care, innovate and take initiatives.

> *In the classroom we have to stop and give time to our students to think to create to do things, not only producing things. (PT.T.7)*

Teachers acknowledge how they are perceived as the "different" kind of teachers:

> *Some students work with us sometimes they say you are a different teacher, you respect me you listen to me, with you, you choose what I want and I can talk about worries of my life and the world. Students have this notion that we work in a different way. (PT.T.7)*

Free will and voluntarism is also essential to genuine learning which cannot be enforced against someone's will:

> *We work in a more free way. We expect teachers to come to us because if we force the training generally they don't accept it and we have had experiences because they have to believe in those principles or at least be curious about them or at least have some wanting to change something otherwise they just resist and just say ok well this is nice but it does not happen like that. It is an ideal vision of things but what would be mankind without ideals. (PT.T.8)*

Democratic teaching and learning should be based on cooperation and social learning where everyone learns with the others:

We learn with each other too. We have different kinds of groups. In those groups everybody teaches and learns from each other. We also think the way the teaching area or job is something that we are always building. The contexts changes and we have to be prepared talking to each other and trying to solve the problems we have and find what is working and what is not. In these groups we have the support to deal with what comes. (PT.T.8)

Cooperation approaches value the process itself more than the final product. Describing how students can be involved in a group project of writing a book, a teacher highlighted how when students present their work.

It is not the question of the final product, it is also the way they did it. That is what we want others to learn: the process not just the final product. (PT.T.8)

Cooperation in a community and supporting each other has enabled teachers to grow personally and professionally and has provided them with the confidence, peace and courage to keep going on the difficult roads:

On personal terms, if I was not here with these people, I would find my job very very hard. I was looking for this group of people but when I found it, I thought the way I handled my job and profession was completely different. (PT.T.8)

Cooperation should also extend to include researchers and practitioners. One teacher reflects on what she describes as a "divorce" between universities and schools and insists that in spite of all the obstacles and differences, the collaborations must continue:

We have started collaborations between university and schools and of course at the beginning, some things would go wrong but some things would go right and we would have to start from the things that would go right and make them stronger. Of course there will be forces against these principles we are experiencing them in Europe so we have to create and be strong to fight those forces. Otherwise, everything is lost. (PT.T.8)

6.3.7. Challenges to citizenship education in Portugal

The above discussion has elaborated or briefly mentioned some challenges to citizenship education in Portugal. This section provides some further challenges identified in the data.

A. Lack of time

All teachers referred to a lack of time that restricts them from approaching citizenship education topics, reading the new legislations and recommendation or engaging in training or self-research on citizenship topics.

B. Lack of clear and consistent discourse on citizenship

There is an overall incoherent discourse concerning citizenship and vagueness and uncertainty regarding the aims and topics. Although the strategy provides extensive

guidelines, the areas to be developed are very broad and teachers are often not sure which aspect to address. Many teachers offered their own interpretation of what they saw was the difference between the old practice of civic education and the new citizenship and development education. The lack of training and textbooks made the task even more challenging. One teacher educator expresses her lack of certainty:

> *I don't know what is going on because it is a new thing now with this new flexibility. All the research that has been done show that teachers don't have time and there is a big confusion between civic and citizenship education. It is not clear (PT.TE.2)*

There was a particular uncertainty regarding the approach of transversal teaching of citizenship in other subjects.

Findings have also highlighted the unclear understanding of citizenship activities or what counts as citizenship-related practices that students can do and receive feedback and grading on. Data reveals that teachers innovate new citizenship-related activities within the guided framework. While this could be a positive step toward innovation and autonomy, it could also run the risk of promoting activities at the cost of reflection. One teacher has shown disapproval that some unreflective charity-based activities are considered as citizenship practices by many teachers. She believes teachers need to provide opportunities for students for deep reflection on the unequal relations that exist in the society while engaging in such activities. There are also examples that could fit the citizenship education paradigm but may have dismissed as not citizenship related materials or activities. This goes in line with the research conducted by Willemse et al. (2015) which confirms that although teachers do not always have clear concepts of citizenship education, they sometimes establish more citizenship-education practices than they are aware of.

C. The demographic challenge

Another noticeable challenge that was mentioned by several interviewees was the demographic challenge. Like many educational systems around the world, the Portuguese educational system has been facing the challenges of the aging of the teacher population. However, this phenomenon has been most dramatic in Portugal, with an increase in the share of teachers aged 50 and above from 28 percent in 2013 to 47 percent in 2018 (OECD, 2019). A few teachers highlighted the impact of low birth rates and the aging population in Portugal on teaching. The retirement age has also increased from 58 to 66. With a decreasing number of students, there is a low demand for new teachers since schools are working with teachers they already have. "I am one of the youngest teacher at school, no younger teacher is coming in" (PT.T. 6), a teacher in his early thirties explains. What does that mean to teaching citizenship education? In most of the cases, older teachers are described in the data to be often "not happy with the [new] textbooks[57] [...and] are proud of their colonial national history" (PT.TE.1) or they are described as not willing to "read the past in a different way" (PT.T.6). It is also pointed out that it is not easy for older teachers to approach controversial issues or to teach [about sexuality and homosexuality] sine their generation was not prepared

[57] This is a reference to history textbooks

for such topics and tasks (PT. T.6) or because they don’t feel comfortable to talk about such topics (PT.T.5).

Chapter 7: Discussion and implications for teacher education

7. 1. Research paradigm revisited

In this section, I present some reflection on some tensions and dilemmas I experienced in the process of interpreting the data. My point of departure for this following argument is based, first, on the aims of critical pedagogy to educate for rational, critical independent thinkers who can rethink their conditions and emaciate themselves. Second, critical pedagogy perspectives represent "a transgressive discourse, practice, and fluid way of seeing the world" where researchers "continually attempt to redefine themselves through context in which they find themselves [because once they] slow down and stop fluidity, the criticality is gone, and we bog ourselves down in the quicksand of compromised liberalism" (Steinberg, (2007). p. x).

While critical pedagogy, like any theory, has received criticism that highlights several aspects about the approach, and while the scope of this research does not allow to present such arguments, I feel it is necessary that I highlight one aspect of this paradigm that made me stop a few times while doing this research and question my underpinning and the initial assumptions. This reflection on my theoretical foundation should not be interpreted as undermining of any paradigm, but rather a deep reflection along with rethinking my own interpretations of the approach. I join Zembyla (2018b) to "emphasize the importance of constantly reappraising Freire's pedagogy [or any other theory] in light of different theoretical perspectives so that it does not become itself a 'banking process'" (p. 406).

Being a teacher myself and in line with the spirit of EDiTE that insists on the genuine partnership with schools and teachers, I did not see myself as a researcher as much as a partner or another teacher attempting to find some insights from fellow teachers within two different contexts. Yet, while collecting and interpreting data, I encountered a few moments and incidents that made me feel that I was sort of imposing my framework on the teachers by expecting them to act and answer in a way that was in line with the critical pedagogy paradigm, mainly the focus on promoting independent and critical thinking. I felt like an insensitive, detached elitist nobody whose mission was to collect the data on what looked 'progressive' practices. I thought about changing the way I framed my research half way through my data collection. I finally decided to proceed and provide a reflection about what to me represented an ethical crisis where I questioned my role and aim in the research. This is not to be seen as weakening of the research but rather enhancing it since it traces the transformation involved in this study.

I want to arrive with the heart first and after, my preoccupation is the curriculum (PT.T.2).

One example of the ethical dilemmas I faced, was visiting one of the 'problematic' schools in an improvised urban suburb in Portugal, which made my supposedly solid foundation shake for a while. In my mind the 'progressive' and 'thick' approach to citizenship would mean that teachers provide students with critical thinking skills, encourage them to interrogate the living conditions they had, and help them to become emancipated learners. In that school, I could not find my own version of 'progressive' education. The two teachers whom I interviewed had other priorities in mind in citizenship education classes: To bring some snack to the class in order to attract hungry kids to come to school and save them from the consequences of being a vulnerable dropout from, most likely, a broken home, to show them

how to care for each other and avoid physical violence as much as possible, and to help students respect their classmates and not interrupt them while speaking. According to my framework, the above practices may illustrate a shallow and thin approach to teaching citizenship yet I could not but declare my humility and admiration of those teachers who were doing what they could to help students be safe and well. For days to come, I shunned all my research agenda and rethought what my aim was in doing this research. I rather became ashamed of the thick-thin guide I developed to 'categories' teachers into different levels of 'good' practices and dispositions, although my aim was never to do that.

The idea that education should bring about rational autonomous citizens has affected educational practices and the way citizenship is implemented in schools in western democracies (Biesta 2006; Sundström & Fernández, 2013). This is not to undervalue the role of rational autonomy and what has achieved throughout history in liberating movements across the globe. What I argue for is that, today, "personal autonomy is often held to be more important than any other single value, as it encompasses many of the qualities otherwise attributed to democracy, such as critical thinking and independence" and although cherished as "a legitimate ideal to strive for," personal autonomy, I argue, is in many cases, could be "not only unrealistic but actually an undesirable ideal" (Sundström & Fernández (2013, p. 106). One dimension that could be missing in critical pedagogy discourse is that of the affective dimension. Zembyla (2018b) discusses recent scholarship on affect and emotion that offer "a compelling vocabulary for cultivating self and social transformation" and proposes reinventing critical pedagogy as "decolonizing pedagogy of empathy" capable of inspiring "modes of affective perspective-taking and affective practices" of teachers and students (p. 405). I therefore, embrace the relational "idea of care as citizenship" which is "linked to educational policy making and pedagogies that truly care for all children (regardless of their ethnic or other origin) and create a supportive learning environment conducive to inclusion" (Zembylas & Bosalek, 2011, p. 19). Zembylas & Bosalek (2011) discuss the limitation of a human rights approach to citizenship education and intercultural dialogues where "importance of impartiality and reason is stressed" and where "individual rights take precedence over relationships" and where principles are supposed to apply for all without considering the unequal power relations and the different circumstances and privileges that people have. From a human rights perspective, "one would have to be free from bodily contingencies and dependencies in order to deliberate on moral issues, rather than as situated and occurring between embodied beings" (p.17).

They instead propose to approach intercultural dialogue from the ethics of care which "recognizes the importance of emotions in moral deliberation", places importance on "responsiveness and attentiveness" to particular situations rather than principles, and on "interdependence and relationality" rather than autonomy to guide dialogue (p. 17). Further, while a human rights perspective "views human beings thinly, as part of common humanity or as a generalized Other", "an ethic of care would require a rich and thick description of people's circumstances, focusing on the particularities of concrete situations in specific historic moments" (pp. 17-18).

Throughout my ethical crisis, I also found relieving perspectives when reading Cochran Smith (2004) *Walking the Road*, learning about culturally relevant pedagogies, and reflecting on Biesta's (2006) *Beyond Learning*. In the following explanation by Biesta (2006) on the difference between diversity and difference, I also find some insights to consider. Although

his discussion is related to cultural issues, I also find it relevant to deal with the way we interpret data and assign categories based on an overarching frame. Biesta (2006) sees it is important to distinguish between diversity and difference. Diversity "is an attempt to see plurality as a set of variations against an identical background or a set of positions within an overarching framework [suggesting] that we are all basically the same and that our differences are merely cultural" (p.192). In other words, it does not recognise the normative stance from which it constructs its decision. Difference, on the other hand, implies "the recognition that any attempt to locate, understand, and make sense of difference by placing it in an overarching framework can only be done from one of the positions within such a framework - which already shows that the framework itself is not overarching, just as the position is not simply within the framework [which means that it] requires a different attitude toward plurality and otherness, one on which the idea of responsibility is more appropriate than the idea of knowledge, one in which ethics is more important than epistemology" (p.103). Based on the above, we cannot or should not understand otherness before we engage in it. In the following, as an educator, a researcher and a human being, I place ethics above epistemology to provide a responsible and transparent argumentation of my interpretations of the data collected on the teaching of citizenship education in the two countries involved.

7. 2. *Walking the road* to transformative teacher education

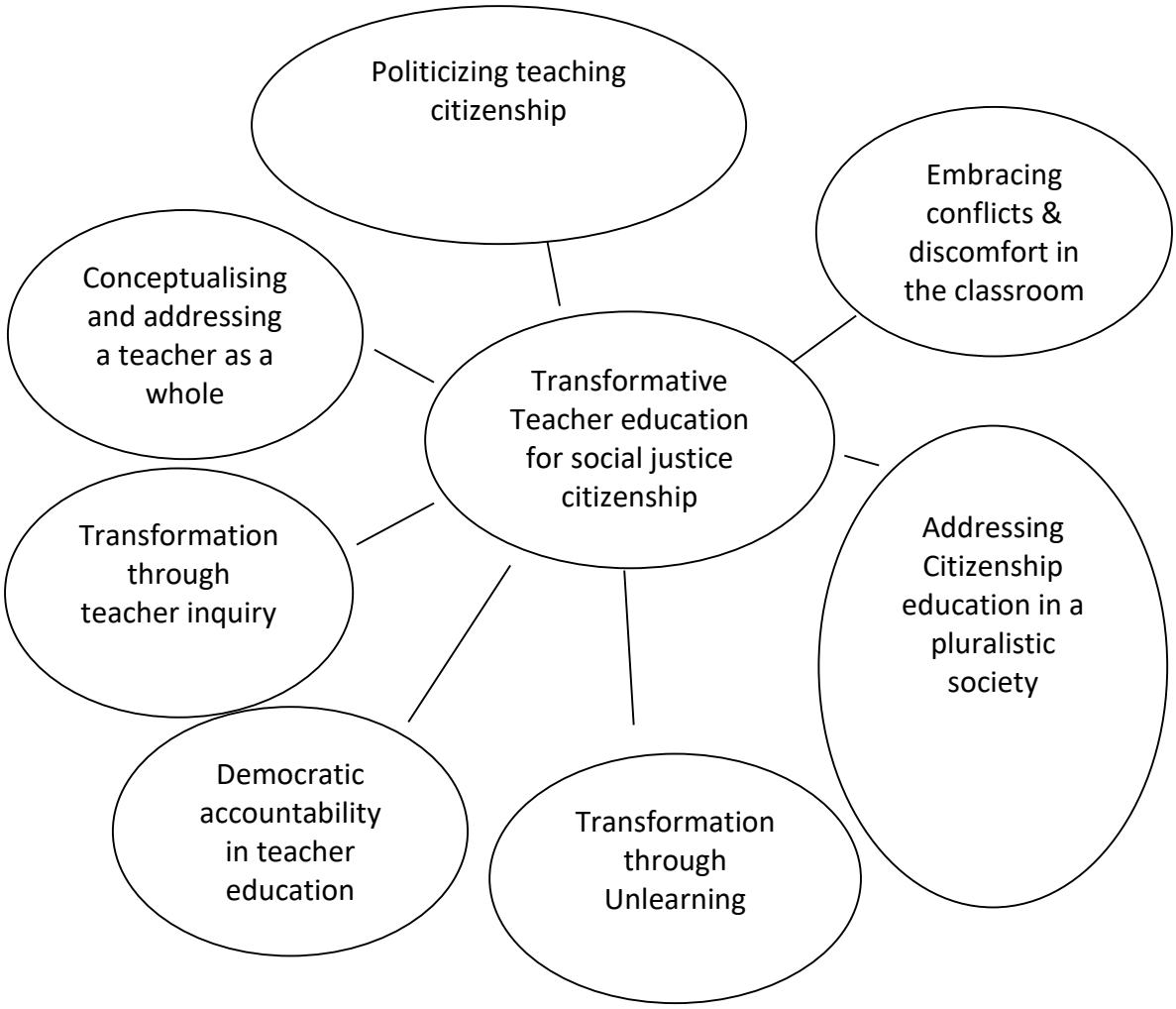
This chapter provides an overall discussion of the research and the findings, while keeping a context-sensitive perspective. In her *Walking the Road*, Cochran-Smith (2004) identifies two problems that need to be addressed in teacher education for social justice. First, teacher education needs to be conceptualized as a learning problem. Teaching, she believes, is "intellectual, cultural, and contextually local activity rather than one that is primarily technical, neutral in terms of values and perspectives, and universal in terms of cause and effects." Second, teacher education needs to be viewed as a "political problem connected to issues of social justice rather than simply a policy problem" (p. 2). Based on the research's core principle that links democracy to social justice in citizenship education and on Cochran-smith (2004) conceptualisation of teacher education for social justice, I present a framework for transformative teacher learning that places teaching for citizenship as a *political* enterprise, a *learning* enterprise, and a multifaceted, unpredictable and risk-ridden endeavour. I borrow part of the title of this chapter "walking the road" from Cochran-smith (2004) to emphasise the concept of "journey" which "makes the case the doing teacher education for social justice is an ongoing, over-the-long-haul kind of process for prospective teachers as well as for teacher education practitioners, researchers and policy analysts." The title is also intended to signify "uncertainly" and making the path while walking, to "signify the organic link, rather than the dichotomy, between acting and theorizing, practice and scholarship, and between doing teacher education and doing scholarly work about teacher education" (p. xviii), which also represents the journey of this research and all the tensions encountered.

Based on the research data and inspired by the two problems of social justice teacher education identified above, the study proposes a transformative and social justice oriented framework for teachers and teacher educators to approach teaching for democratic citizenship as a political enterprise that reconsiders and challenges mindsets and practices that prove unjust and limiting in today's pluralistic society and as a learning enterprise that views teachers as researchers. This framework consists of seven interrelated elements, as illustrated

in figure (4) and could be consulted when preparing teachers to teach for citizenship education. Surely, the framework is open to further expansion and development.

In the following, I provide a discussion of the framework elements in the light of the findings of the current research.

Figure (4): A framework for Transformative Teacher education for social justice citizenship



Source: Author

7. 2. 1. Toward politicising citizenship education

As discussed in previous chapters, the data of this research has shown a tendency for teachers in both countries to conceptualise citizenship as a personal affair. A good citizen is viewed in relation to predefined individualistic traits and virtues and through activities such as proper behaviours, speaking up, volunteering and complying to the school and classroom demands. This tendency is also confirmed by a recent study by Weinberg & Flinders (2018) in which they illustrated the emphasis by teachers upon individualistic notions of good citizenship,

which is believed to be mirroring national and global political discourse. Establishing the meaning of the political in education in chapter (3), this study stresses the importance of making the political as a central element in citizenship education. While it can be argued that promoting a personally responsible citizen can be a positive trait of citizenship education, it could also highlight a 'thin' apolitical approach to democracy as it "distracts attention from analysis of the causes of social problems and from systematic solutions" (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004, p. 243). A number of researchers have showed concerns regarding the prevalence of apolitical conceptions of citizenship education (Carr & Thésée, 2017; Biesta, 2011a, b; McCowan, 2009; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004; Bryan 2014). Biesta & Lawy (2006) link this approach to the individualistic trend that emerged in Britain in the 1980s that aimed to prepare young people for democracy. They argue that although citizenship education was highlighted by an apparent need for shared community values, it became more concerned with the individual as an autonomous chooser and consumer. This approach has blamed individuals for society's problems without taking into account the context that shaped their conditions, and thus, active citizenship ironically illustrates "a depoliticisation and privatisation of the very idea of citizenship" (p. 11).

According to Biesta (2011b), depoliticization of citizenship education can lead to educational practices that understand citizenship mostly as a personal phenomenon and therefore put too much emphasis on personal responsibility. This in turn can fail to empower young people as political actors who realise "the opportunities and the limitations of individual political action, and who are aware that real change – change that affects structures rather than operations within existing structures – often requires collective action and initiatives from other bodies, including the state" (Biesta, 2011b, p. 31). Furthermore, Westheimer & Kahne (2004) remind us that positive aims of citizenship education such as promoting honesty and loyalty in students are not "inherently democratic" and "a totalitarian regime would be as delighted as leaders in a democracy if their young citizens learned the lessons put forward by many of the proponents of personally responsible citizenship" (p. 244).

Yet, I argue that politicizing citizenship education also provide spaces to negotiate how certain circumstances and contexts create or impede opportunities for teachers, as shown in the data where teachers' aims depended on the school context and the type of student populations. The focus on the cultivating of a mere personally responsible person without taking into account the wider community and the world we live in is, according to some researchers (Gandin & Apple, 2011; Carr, 2007; Neoh, 2017), a direct impact of the prevailing neoliberal rationale in promoting a self-sustaining 'entrepreneur' kind of citizen (Masschelein and Quaghebeur 2005). Ross (2012) highlights that, in the past forty years, support for educational reform from industry, private foundations and the federal government has led to "a more capitalistic, less educator-oriented, and ultimately less democratic network of curriculum policy makers" (p. x). The research conducted on teachers of citizenship by Carr (2007) highlights the neo-liberal pressures to meet the standards and prepare students for the tests, which, he argues, limits opportunities for constructivist and contextual learning.

Biesta (2006) argues that the western notion of rationality and individuality can potentially exclude those who are unable to embrace that norm, including small children. Howe & Covell, (2005) have also highlighted that the majority of citizenship discourse excludes children and refer to them as future citizens or citizens in the making, which could undermine

their agency and thus their participation. Netz, Lempp, Krause & Schramm (2019) bring the concept of body and feminist and disability perspectives to deconstruct "the classical idea of the citizen" and highlight "the exclusionary nature of the notion of the liberal, articulate, political subject – which by default was imagined as the productive and able-bodied worker, father or soldier" (p. 640).
Another issue with the individualistic approach is its tendency to focus on the rational and linear approaches to citizenship, which Fischman & Hass (2014) refer to as the "fantastic discourses', [which] overemphasize the notion of rationality related to the Cartesian tradition of 'cogito ergo sum' – and of human actors as purely conscious beings – that results in an overly idealistic and educationally impractical model of citizenship education (p. 387). They argue instead, that "the consolidation of any given identity – be it 'personal', 'national', or 'communitarian' – is always an 'educationally' unfinished project, an unsolvable tension that cannot be learned and understood through conscious rationality alone. Citizens' identities cannot be created only through explicit instruction on what democracy is and how a good citizen should act (p. 390).

One more problematic aspect about this view involves seeing schools or any citizenship education initiatives or courses as having the entitlement to mould the students according to a certain worldview of what 'good' or 'success' which has promoted some researchers (Biesta, 2011a) to refer to this process as socialisation or "a domestication of the citizen" (p. 142) into a particular civic identity. This proves problematic in the light of approaching citizenship as a contested notion and may fall into the trap of depoliticizing education. As an alternative to socialisation, Biesta (2011a) suggest a subjectification approach which focus on the representation and acting of a student's agency without predefined identities and orders. This approach indicates that we cannot for sure decide what each kind of learning or identity that each student should engage with. It is, therefore, involved in the emerging and the yet-not-clear civic identities as they develop and emerge in the interaction with the others in specific contexts. The following section elaborates more on the need to politicize and problematize learning that happens in citizenship education.

7. 2. 1. 1. On the politics of learning

This section reflects on the need to problematize how learning is viewed in the majority of citizenship education endeavors. This research argues that "the phenomenon of learning is beyond the reach of teaching and […this] must be recognized and addressed if education research is to have a meaningful impact on policy and practice (Schratz & Westfall-Greiter, 2015, p.7). With regard to teaching and learning in citizenship education, the study acknowledges that schooling does and can contribute to the development of citizens' identities, which was also emphasized by respondents, but maintains that it is an unfinished process and that it cannot be reached or controlled. While a minority of respondents refer to the difficulty and impossibility to track citizenship education, which is not like any other subjects, the majority demonstrate a simplistic linear and rational views of citizenship, reflected in many examples of the data, such as assessment processes and the attempt to track and control students' competences. The competence discourse is prevalent in both countries and is influenced by international and EU discourses that strive to make education "strong, secure and predictable" and "risk-free at all levels" (Biesta, 2014, p. 1). While this discussion does not attempt to undermine the competence approach, it draws attention to the

overemphasis on rationality in the learning that happens in citizenship education as explained by Fischman & Haas (2012

> Reducing the notion of citizenship to a set of dispositions, skills, practices, and ideals that can be 'delivered' and then performed by purely conscious rational subjects in institutions that are often not even organized democratically, not only ignores the tensions of governmentality but also disregards the importance of automatic, non-conscious learning in human cognition (p. 185).

Biesta (2014) speaks about "the risk aversion" that is prevalent in current "impatient educational discourse and policies" (p.1), which reduces the complexity and openness of human learning" (p. 3), because "education is not an interaction between robots but an encounter between human beings. The risk is there because students are not to be seen as objects to be molded and disciplined, but as subjects of action and responsibility" (p. 1). The desire to make education 'strong, secure, predictable and risk-free' assumes that there are only two options: a total freedom by surrendering to the desires of the child or a total control of the child by the society.

> Yet the educational concern is not about taking sides with any of these options […] or about finding a happy medium or compromise between the two. [The educational concern] lies in the transformation of what is de facto desired into what can justifiably be desirable – a transformation that can never be driven from the perspective of the self and its desires, but always requires engagement with what or who is other (p. 3).

The above highlights the relational meaning of learning. Using narratives of immigrant mothers' experiences with early childhood education of their children, Vandenbroeck et al. (2009) focus their discussion on how micro daily practices and encounters between the 'we' and 'them' shape democracy via, what they call, relational citizenship, which "appears as a temporarily constructed, reconfigured, social and hybrid status of 'becoming' in and through relational micro-events" (p. 213). This relational citizenship is centered on qualities and ethics within a specific time and place rather than referring to predefined outcomes or competencies that individuals should have. This understanding of citizenship requires that educators reconsider the technical knowledge-transfer learning, engage in constant reflection of the unpredictable and the undefined, and recognize that "'good practice' is always provisional and tentative" (p. 213).

Biesta (2014) discusses how a new language of learning, that of 'learnification' has naturalised learning as a technical process without taking into account the value-based judgments that are often involved in learning and teaching and which cannot always be captured.

> Learning expresses a judgment which suggests that when we use the term learning we are not so much describing a fact as that we are evaluating an event. [...This] can help denaturalise the idea of learning because it allows us, each time the word learning is being used, not only to ask what kind of judgment is being made - that is, what the reasons are for identifying particular change as learning - but also to ask who is involved in making the judgement; who is other words, claims the power to define particular change as learning (and other change just as change). (p.69)

Transformation lies in acknowledging judgements so that education and schooling "are always radically open toward the future. We need judgement rather than recipes in order to be able to engage in this openness and do so in an educational way" (p. 137). Another way to denaturalise learning, according to Biesta (2014) is to "refuse the learner identity [...for example,], to claim that one can speak as a citizen without first having to learn what it means to speak 'properly' [...] is not to denounce the importance of learning but to denaturalize and hence politicize learning so that choices, politics, and power become visible" (70).
All of the above is risk-laden and in contrast with the efforts to make education strong, and secure. Engaging in and embracing the unpredictable, the risky, the unsecure "makes the educational way the slow way, the difficult way, the frustrating way, and, so we might say, the weak way, as the outcome of this process can neither be guaranteed nor secured (p. 3). Yet, this research argues that engaging in this complexity and weakness is what captures the most possible essence of education. In the following I engage with further complexity by choosing to problematize participation as a cherished educational outcome in citizenship education.

7. 2. 1.2. Rethinking participation

participation acts upon individuals by getting them to act in and on their own interests, by getting them to act as Self-determining, self-controlling, self-reliant, competent and autonomous actors—that is, by getting them to act as 'entrepreneurial' and independent, individual or separated selves (Masschelein & Quaghebeur (2005, p. 63).

Wenger's (1998) theory of social learning and his concept of 'community of practice' is based on the premise that learning occurs through participation and meaningful engagement in social practices aimed at specific aims have influenced the way learning is approached in the formal school setting. I choose to elaborate on participation as an example of a desired expected outcome in teaching citizenship, since it was prominent in the research data. Many teachers valued active political and civic participation and considered it an indication of good citizenship competence that deserves good evaluation. Only few voices insisted that the rights of students of refraining from participation should be respected.

The first aspect of this discussion is related to the vague connotation of what is referred to as participation. The word 'participation' was used liberally and confidently by many respondents as an indication of good citizenry. This word is also strongly present the national and school documents as well as international discourse with little explanation to what is really entails. According to OECD (2019), "[e]vidence indicates that in general, levels of civic participation are inadequate, posing a challenge for the maintenance and improvement of our societies" (p. 115). However, the term 'civic participation' remains a broad, vague and elusive term. On the other hand, some researchers (Harris et al., 2010; Ribeiro et al., 2015) find that although traditional forms of participation, such as joining a party or voting, seem to decline, "there appears to be no lack of commitment or a total disinterest of young people regarding the exercise of their citizenship, but rather a change in the way they are doing it" (Ribeiro et al., 2015, p. 686). As mentioned before, civic engagement has been influenced by

the individualization of education and the neoliberal alienation of the modern-day individual resulting in a new face to social and civic activism characterized by "new, more individualized forms of activism such as computer hacking, culture jamming, brand boycotts and recycling" (Harris et al., 2010, p. 13). Harris et al. (2010) also speak of the "many young people 'in the middle' who continue to value rational, discursive participatory forms, even while they do not currently feel represented or heard" and who are "engaged in more modest and unaffiliated forms of 'new' participation" (p. 14).

Moreover, while the study never intends to undermine the role and positive impact of conventional or new forms of individualistic participation, it finds it crucial to problematize some aspects of teaching perspectives and practices that unreflectively place participation as a cherished achievement in schools. The way this research problematizes seeing the good citizen as someone who is expected to participate, take initiatives, be autonomous and outspoken finds resonance in some research (Masschelein & Quaghebeur 2005; Carr, 2007; Baildon & Alviar-Martin, 2016) that is critical of the way the good citizen is perceived in relation to the dominating rational and market driven ideologies in education and society.

Replying on Foucault's perspective of governmentality, Masschelein and Quaghebeur (2005) critically approach and problematize participation both as a discourse and as a technology and identify the ways in which participation produces "a particular type of individuality that is not 'natural', 'evidently given' or 'un-alienated', an individuality that implies a specific practice of freedom that needs to be 'learned'" (p. 53) and "constitutes a set of very specific mentalities or regimes of truth" (p. 55). They argue that the emphasis placed on participation in the literature can be traced back to two deficiency-based misconceptions about children and youth in education. The first is related to the conception of the child as vulnerable and in need of help. The second has to do with the way children are often convinced as passive and empty and in need of acquiring basic competencies. They conclude that participation as "an authoritative invitation or interpellation" becomes "a form of governing power—not because it controls or suppresses the individual's freedom but because it offers and defines a very specific possibility for the subject to put her freedom into practice, that is, to govern herself" (p. 61).

Beside the fact that participation is strongly mobilized by the dominant ideology in a certain time and context, another issue to consider is the relation between privilege and participation, which tends to exclude marginalized and improvised groups of the society who do not have time, entitlement, access or a background that 'educate' them to be active citizens. In other words, students' racial, ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds and even age have historically given more privilege and entitlement to certain groups of people to be well educated, articulate and active participants. Throughout my journey as a teacher, a student, and a researcher in different contexts and in different governance systems, I have encounters instances when, often times, participation, including volunteering, is a privileged activity, that is not always available to all people who have access to it. In this research, for example, students who are not legal citizens are not allowed to vote in Austria, and yet going to vote was highlighted by many teachers as one of the most important aims of citizenship education. Many teachers displayed concern over the lack of participation of certain ethnic groups in spite of the "many opportunities they have" without reflecting on how some factors could be inhibiting those students from taking part. Data also illustrate how students at private schools

in Portugal had a better chance and access to political participation and volunteering opportunities than public schools' students. This may confirm the "democracy divide" (Hess, 2009, p. 168) between those who have and those who do not. Ribeiro et al. (2015) maintain that conceptualizing political and civic participation should consider the limited access of certain ethnic minorities or immigrants to rights and opportunities of participation in Portugal. June (2004) has also referred to how civic education programs that do not take diversity of population into consideration may "reinforce and even exacerbate present inequalities by providing jump-starts to civic engagement for the already powerful" (p. 225).

Biesta & Lawy (2006) highlighted the importance of the wider cultural, social and political contexts which influence the individuals' perspectives, their learning and action in the area of democratic citizenship and lives in general. They support their argument by the 1998 France's study, which found that the willingness of working class young people to be actively engaged citizens in the community, is related by the social, economic and cultural situation they found themselves in, such as poverty or having to conform to adult status quo. In the recent framework on democratic culture, the Council of Europe (2018a) highlights the irrelevance of participation competences in certain situations:

> [W]here there are systematic patterns of disadvantage and discrimination, and where there are differences in the allocation of resources within societies, people may be disempowered from participation on an equal basis. For example, if citizens do not have sufficient material or financial resources to access information about societal or political issues or to participate in civic actions, they will be disempowered in comparison with people who do have such resources. In this case, their competences for participation are irrelevant because there is no opportunity to use them (p. 27)

While this research highlights that living democracy and active civic engagement is more superior to knowledge transfer of what democracy or human rights are about, it also poses a critical view of limited and unreflective conceptions of participation or 'living democracy.' In his distinction between teaching democracy and teaching through democracy, which was explained earlier, Biesta (2006) contemplates that the two models focus on preparing the individuals by providing them with a predefined set of knowledge, skills and values, and thus entails instrumentalism and individualism and ignores the citizen-in-context. Drawing on Dewey as well as Hannah Arendt, he argues that we cannot blame individuals for "antisocial or nondemcoratic behavior since individuals are always individuals-in-context" (p. 142). However, while maintaining that education is not to be blamed for lack or failure of democracy, teachers can still have a vital role. Educators and schools have a role in inviting and supporting reflection on situations in which action was possible or those in which action was not possible in order to "fosters an understanding of the fragile personal, interpersonal and structural conditions under which human beings can act and can be a subject" (p. 142).

Data indicated that students' classroom participation is favored to student's passivity or silence. Having predefined models of what a good citizen is supposed to be, the majority of teachers gave more importance to participation and being vocal and out-spoken while attending to student's silence or disengagement was not addressed. Considering silence as a

form of participation and highlighting the complexity of student silence in the classroom, Schultz (2012) encourages teachers to rethink participation and listen to students' silence which could be an indicator of several meanings. She maintains that thinking of silence "as a form of participation lets teachers develop a broader and more inclusive understanding of students' multiple forms of engagement in learning […which] will lead to more equitable classrooms that hold the possibility of honoring the contributions of all students" (p. 80). She invites teachers to look for new discourses and strategies that does not give prime important to verbal participation such as writing, face to face meeting with the teacher, or using arts.

The above discussion invite teachers to rethink participation or lack of participation, its different forms and the circumstances that shape it. Teachers need to know, study their students and help each one of them to reach his or her potentials within the context that surrounds them and without having any prior expectations or predefined outcomes in mind, and no matter how disruptive this path may be. Before assuming that 'there are so many opportunities for students to take part, but they don't,' which was implied by several teachers, it is important to ask vital questions regarding reasons why participation is not taking place, while keeping in mind that participation, in any forms we know of, is not the 'sought after' result in teaching citizenship. Teachers are also encouraged to re-consider the cultural norms of where they live which also influence how society sees active participation. For example, through my experience, I have come to realise that some cultures place more emphasis on students' visible voices and actions in the classroom and does not appreciate silence, which they brand as carelessness or apathy.

The ignorant citizen: a new conceptualisation:

Based on the discussion above, the research considers the notion of 'the ignorant citizen' (Biesta, 2011b) as a new conceptualisation of the 'good' citizen. This notion is free from any pre-defined civic virtues, norms, identities and domestication. It is rather based on the promotion of an understanding of citizenship that is:

> more political than social, more concerned about collective than individual learning, that acknowledges the role of conflict and contestation, and that is less aimed at integration and reproduction of the existing order but also allows for forms of agency that question the particular construction of the political order (Biesta, 2011b, p. 44).

I wish to clarify that the adjective 'ignorant' is not to be misinterpreted as a reference to the common meaning of ignorance or unawareness. It is rather used to highlight that school children are encouraged to consciously reflect on predefined concepts of the citizen and are given the space to bring new ways of becoming citizens in their own different unique ways without copying or abiding to preexisting normative citizenship molds or participation forms. This invites disrupting dominant conceptualizations of democracy and citizenship education and considers. I also acknowledge that such a conceptualization could entail risks when the normative is questioned or disrupted and could be misinterpreted as an encouragement for apathy.

I conclude this section by emphasizing that the research still sees great potential and value in participation. Teachers are encouraged to facilitate different ways and forms of participation

and favor it to a knowledge transfer approach to citizenship but should also contextualize and problematize its seemingly normative nature.

7. 2. 2. Embracing conflicts and discomfort in the classroom

Another aspect of discussing social justice teacher education in relation to the current research is the need to embrace the uncomfortable in order to engage with the complexities of social justice and living in a democracy. The research has illustrated teachers' ambivalence and lack of preparation when it comes to addressing difficult topics that could potentially create 'problems' among students or with the school or the families. Some other factors were also important such as the limited timeframe to cover a topic completely and address all the viewpoints and complexities surrounding it. The historical and political context of Portugal and the long heritage of censorship is also significant in the way teachers avoid stirring controversies in the classroom. Various researchers (Andreotti, 2006; Carr, 2007; Hess, 2009; Carr et al., 2014) have underlined teachers' avoidance of and discomfort with confrontational or hard issues. Bryan & Bracken (2011) suggest that teachers are especially anxious and concerned about how best to teach 'complex' and 'controversial' issues, such as war and conflicts. Teachers often avoid such topics because they do not feel prepared enough or because they are concerned about indoctrinating students. High levels of teacher anxiety in culturally diverse settings are also evident. Carr (2007) highlights teachers' concern about imposing values and indoctrination when discussing sensitive issues and notes that teachers' exaggerated fear of indoctrination and uncertainty whether to be neutral or not may risk to the avoidance of critical analysis of some pressing issues. This research argue that conflicts should be viewed as part and parcel of living in a democracy. For example, Parker (2017) addresses the issue of parent-school conflict with regard to curricula and he argues that in liberal democracies where parental consent is valued, this becomes a material for a predictable conflict:

> Looking at their child's science or history class, parents are conflicted: they want their children to have access to powerful, worldly knowledge, but not when it draws them away from the beliefs and bonds of the home. Parents want their children to be exposed to a range of beliefs, but not those that undermine their own convictions. They want their children to be taught to think critically, but not when the tools of critical thought are used to interrogate the parents' values. They want the school to open windows on the world, but they want it to mirror and affirm the home, too" (p. 468).

Committed to view democracy not as slogans and voting but rather a way of life that demands ongoing discussions, Hess (2009) provides political and educational reasons why educators should engage in controversies in the classroom:

> The ideal of discussion supports the validity of intrinsic equality by implying, at least symbolically, that all members of a community are politically equal and are therefore equally qualified to participate in discussion and decision making (p. 15).

Hess (2009) provides evidence that joining in controversial issues discussions promotes pro-democratic values, such as tolerance, being "the willingness to extend civil liberties to groups with whom one disagrees" (p. 31), enhances content understanding and promotes political

and civic engagement, makes social studies teaching more authentic and engaging in real life discussions and develops students' reasoning skills and helps them value multiplicity.
On teaching controversially, the Humanity Curriculum Project (HCP) that was developed in the 1970s in England is of relevance and significance to this discussion. The HCP was designed to explore the issues of teaching controversial areas, which divided teachers, students and parents, including "war, education, the family, relations between the sexes, people and work, poverty, living in cities law and order, and race relations" (Stenhouse, 1971, p. 155). The project was a result of an enquiry that showed dissatisfaction with the traditional humanities subjects among young school leavers. Stenhouse defined the humanities as the study of human values, which he regarded as intrinsically controversial as they raised issues about the nature of 'the good' and the way people should lead their lives. Since teaching the humanities involves controversial value judgments which divide opinions in society, the teaching strategy should be one of enquiry which involves students discussing issues under the guidance of teachers (Elliot, 2013).
The HCP put forward some principles to guide and judge teachers' intervention in the classroom and the use of curriculum materials in the pursuit of their pedagogical aim, illustrated in "the development of an understanding of social situations, human acts, and the controversial issues they raise" (Elliot, 2013, p. 88). Refusing to set "predetermined terminal behaviour and aim" Stenhouse (1791) argues that in the area of controversial issues, it was more important to focus on the "logical consistency between classroom process and aim" (p. 155). Considering the divergent curriculum area in which learning outcomes are neither correct nor incorrect, the enquiry strategy was considered "as the most explicit statement of a pedagogical strategy for handling controversial issues in classroom" (Elliot, 2013, p. 87). The HCP implied the notion of "teacher as researcher" and thus aimed to link research and practice (Stenhouse, 1971). Elliot (2013) argues that the HCP provides a model of citizenship education that was overlooked for years and the approach can be used to resist an instrumental, economically-driven citizenship education framework.
This research argues for the need of teacher education programs to provide opportunities for teacher candidates to engage with the complexities and the embedded value-judgment of wars, conflicts, historical events, identities, social injustices and to critically reflect on their own views.
Disruption to Langan et al. (2009) is important and unavoidable in the classroom. They, however, argue that teacher preparation and a high level of trust are vital in this process and since these cannot always be guaranteed, disruptions have to be addressed carefully. One possible drawback is a potential "exploitative" (p. 53) approach when students share some personal details that could expose them and engage them emotionally when they would rather not do that.

Relevant to this discussion, is the role of emotions in citizenship education, which has been examined by some researchers (Ruitenberg, 2009; Biesta, 2011; Zembylas, 2018a; Tryggvason, 2018), which is often associated with the debate between agonistic and deliberative approaches to democracy. The deliberative approach to democracy that is based on rational deliberation and reaching consensus has been the dominant model for approaching citizenship education. This approach has been criticized by agnostics for ignoring the role of emotions (Tryggvason, 2018). The "agonistic pluralism" was proposed by Mouffe (2000, p. 14) as an alternative:

> One of the shortcomings of the deliberative approach is that, by postulating the availability of a public sphere where power would have been eliminated and where a rational consensus could be realized, this model of democratic politics is unable to acknowledge the dimension of antagonism that the pluralism of values entails and its ineradicable character (Mouffe, 2000, p. 13).

If we consider the approach to citizenship as subjectification, I find it important to consider Mouffe's (2000) argument that disagreement and conflicts should not be seen as a problem to be suppressed in democracy since they are unavoidable and inherent in human pluralism. When a rational consensus is reached, we have to acknowledge that it is "a temporary result of a provisional hegemony, as a stabilization of power, and that it always entails some form of exclusion. The idea that power could be dissolved through a rational debate and that legitimacy could be based on pure rationality are illusions, which can endanger democratic institutions" (p. 17). This does not mean that "that adversaries can never cease to disagree but that does not prove that antagonism has been eradicated […]. Compromises are, of course, also possible; they are part and parcel of politics; but they should be seen as temporary respites in an ongoing confrontation" (p. 16).

Based on the above, the agnostic model may provide some justification for engaging in conflicts in the classroom, yet many questions remain unanswered: *where do we draw the line?* Many teachers interviewed pointed out that the limit was often human rights principles or decency rules. However, this research has already discussed the limitation for human rights or politeness to take account of the citizen-in-context. Another important question is: to what extent can 'the political' be acknowledged and practiced in the classroom and to what extent can students and teachers tolerate it? Will being 'too political' produce cynicism, for example?

Here a discussion of emotions is inescapable. One concern with venturing so deep into discomforting topics, which I have personally experienced as a teacher and a student, is that of potential imparting of powerlessness, pessimism and cynicism in students, when confronted with bloodshed, exploitation, racism and segregation whose levels of influence are beyond their agency. Boler (1999) referred to the tendency of individuals and communities to become passive and to isolate themselves due to feeling helpless and powerless. Bryan (2014) touches on this issue by disapproving the "coping mechanism" and argues that:

> While it is understandable that textbooks and teachers might seek to protect young students from feeling paralysed or overwhelmed by the scale of global poverty and social injustice, offering bite-sized activism as both a coping mechanism and a solution to the world's ills downplays the importance of a cohesive and synchronized commitment to social justice and equality (p 6).

Boler (1999) claims that emotions have always been dismissed by the dominant culture and educational discourse in the Western World and this may have hindered teachers and students to open up about their feelings in the classroom. Zembylas (2007) presents similar explanations in his argument for the need of a theoretical and methodological approaches to

education that places emotions as an integral part of learning[58]. In an attempt to provide explanations for questions such as "how can students consider their responsibility in relation to suffering and injustice in the world without necessarily being branded as collectively guilty?" (p. 404), Zembyla (2019) finds insight in Hannah Arendt's philosophy of responsibility. He draws attention to the limiting "moral prescription" (p. 413), that often takes place in when teaching about world injustices and proposes "the transformative shift from guilty feelings to shared responsibility" in education "by turning the question Why do I have to feel guilt for my group and the harm others have committed?" into "How am I co-responsible for the harm inflicted on my fellow human beings?" as a "pedagogical objective" (p. 412). While keeping in mind that Zembyla's (2019) proposal involves ambiguities and risks, it could provide a frame for teachers when teaching about past and present injustices and atrocities. In one email communication with Audrey Bryan, she highlighted the importance of engaging young people with examples of "progressive social movements and campaigns that have affected social change as a counterbalance" to the harsh realities that students have to learn about. In other words, a teacher should also be committed to instilling hope. Freire (1996) notes that struggle alone without hope is "a frivolous illusion" (p. 8) and that teachers should be committed to "unveil opportunities for hope, no matter what the obstacles may be. After all, without hope there is little we can do. It will be hard to struggle on, and when we fight as hopeless or despairing persons, our struggle will be suicidal" (p. 9).

7. 2. 3. Teaching citizenship in a pluralistic society:

In addressing teacher education for social justice, the research proposes the following interrelated issues to be included when dealing with citizenship education in a pluralistic society:

7. 2. 3. 1. Flexible citizenship and multiple belongings

As discussed earlier, in multicultural societies, there exists an ongoing pedagogical debate between unity and diversity, between the concern of how to respect difference and at the same time not compromise on social cohesion and unity (Vandenbroeck, Cousée, Bradt & Roose, 2011; Banks, 2017, Kymlica, 2017). Along with that comes a debatable tension between allegiance to the nation-state and other allegiances (Sundström & Fernández, 2013). This tension was particularly depicted in Austria when a few teaches found it problematic that some students are still vocally identifying with their grandfather's homeland in the classroom when they are Austrian citizens. On the other hand, some teachers endorsed difference and reflected on the fluid concept of identity.

Conceptions of citizenship education that are based on assimilation and narrow understanding of identity as static and single are contributing to a 'failed' citizenship (Banks, 2017). This has promoted research to acknowledge the multifaceted identities of minorities and immigrants' children, requiring the practice of multidimensional conceptions of citizenship in schools.

This research adopts the concept of identity used by Hall (2000), which is not essentialist, and does not refer to an unchanging meaning of the self, from beginning to end. It is also an act of power and it contrasts with the "naturalism" of the definition that is constructed around common origin or shared history, characteristics and ancestry. This concept of identity

[58] More on this in section 7.6

accepts that identities are never unified, "never singular but multiple, constructed across different discourses, practices and positions" (p. 16-17). The research also makes a point of departure that schools and classrooms transmit explicit and implicit notions of citizenship and belonging (Eksner & Cheema, 2017).

Abu El-Haj & Bonet (2011) discuss the complexities of teaching citizenship in contemporary contexts of migration, transnationalism, and the war on terror. They draw attention to the need for research on citizenship education to consider the complex ways that youth adopt multiple and transnational identities across time and contexts.
In her *Transpositions on Nomadic Ethics,* Braidotti (2006) provides suggestions of flexible and evolving notions of citizenship that could lead to "the end of pure steady identities" (p. 79) in the context of Europe:

> The post-nationalistic sense of diasporic, hybrid and nomadic identity can be translated into political notion of flexible citizenship, in the framework of the 'new' European Union […] a double de-linking could be implemented so as to disengage citizenship from nationality and national identity (i.e. not space-bound) and from permanence, so it could be extended to temporary residence (i.e. not time bounded). This allows for complex allegiances and multiple forms of cultural belongings. Dismantling the us/them binary, it replaces a fixed notion of European citizenship with a functionally differentiated network of affiliations and loyalties (p. 79).

The discourse on citizenship and intercultural education in the countries involved and in Europe, in general, emphasis the need to consider the complexity of identities, the reality of curriculum enactment and classroom practices provide a different picture. As discussed earlier, parallel to nationalistic voices, globalization and immigration have created cosmopolitan perspectives that called for a global citizenship education as well as intercultural voices that demanded that citizenship education consider the increasing diversity of the classrooms. However, Kymlicka (2017) argues, that while there is almost a unanimous support for cosmopolitan human rights education, support for multicultural citizenship education is "more muted and contested" (p. xxi). This could be attributed to the difficulty and skepticism regarding transforming national narratives of membership and belonging into multicultural direction. Another dimension is that migration is changing and people can no longer be categorized as permanent or temporary migrants, which makes it difficult to distinguish between "permanent migrants who are owed multicultural citizenship from temporary migrants [who are] owed cosmopolitan human rights" (p. xxi).
Engaged in "an endless negotiation of identities" (Diversi & Moreira, 2009, p.20), this research argues that "identity does not reside neatly and dormant inside people until truth can awaken and reveal its original design and plan. Instead, Identity is forever mutant and relational, adapting to the contextual pressures of making oneself feel worthwhile" (Diversi & Moreira, 2009, p. 20). With that in mind, the research suggests the need to move beyond definite diversity categories and acknowledge the 'in-between' space that is chosen by many as the place to belong to. In other words, an affiliation with a certain group does not mean uniformity of the same features and practices.
The research argues that teacher need to acknowledge that "a central task of citizenship education is to replace older exclusionary ideas of nationhood with a more inclusive or multicultural conception of citizenship which challenges inherited hierarchy of belonging and

insists that society belongs to all its members" (Kymlicka, 2017, p. xix). Teacher education programs and citizenship education curricula should further acknowledge the fluidity of identity and the fact that many people nowadays are living "the life of diaspora, whose center is somewhere" (Tayler, 1994, p. 63) or nowhere at all. Teachers can play an essential part in helping students negotiate their multiple identities and allegiances instead of dismissing the phenomenon as unnatural or disloyal. Documented the feelings of marginalization, structural exclusion, and ambivalent identities that marginalized immigrant, ethnic, cultural, racial, linguistic, and religious groups experience in relationship to citizenship education within their nation-states, Abu El Haj (2007) argues that citizenship education needs to be redefined in ways that acknowledge that people have "multilayered affiliations across the borders" and that instead of viewing multiple affiliations as a threat to social integration, "we might consider transnational communities as an important source of new visions of identity and belonging, and as a resource for engaging with alternate perspectives on local and global issues" (p. 311). Eksner & Cheema (2017) propose that the notion of "transversal citizen" and citizenship that align multiple identities, be implemented in schools to achieve full membership and participation (p. 176).

7. 2. 3. 2. Structural inclusion

This research argues that democratic citizenship education should foster genuine and structural inclusion of all the groups of the society and that schooling and citizenship education, through explicit teaching or the hidden curriculum convey implicit notions of citizenship and belonging (Eksner & Cheema, 2017). Banks (2017) describes ways in which schools have contributed to failed citizenship by using assimilationist approaches to civic education that required minorities to deny their multiple and complex identities. Drawing attention to how students, when not genuinely included, tend to focus more on their ethnic, cultural, linguistic identities or aims than on the host country national identity and prospects, He describes how schools can reduce failed citizenship by implementing transformative approaches to citizenship education that will recognize the marginalised and acknowledge them as members of the society while keeping cultural or linguistic aspects of their community by investing in some approaches such as social studies teaching and culturally responsive and sustaining pedagogy.

This study acknowledges that structural inclusion requires large-scale system and policy-level changes, such as ensuring an all-inclusive equitable schooling for all and addressing language rights of minorities, which echoes the following by Parker (2017):

> It is unlikely that schools can do much to 'facilitate' the structural inclusion of students from diverse ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious groups.' The locus of the problem is outside the school system, residing mainly in the legal system, the political economy, and the cultural norms and folk beliefs of families, religions, and ethnic enclaves. On the other hand, schools can do something toward the end. […]it is within this agentic space that 'citizenship education courses and programs' are created and will have whatever effect they can (p. 460).

However, the study stems from the belief that education and schooling can make a difference and that teachers can engage in transformative mindset and practices that challenge the mainstream status quo. I argue for the potential of providing a democratic space for students through the provision of citizenship education where they can freely negotiate between

multiple identities and where they can choose to feel that they belong not belong at the same time or be in the in-between spaces.

7. 2. 3. 3. Culturally relevant pedagogies[59] (CRPs)

This research argues for the need for a culturally relevant pedagogy so that teaching for a citizenship is situated within certain socio-political contexts. While there is an agreement on the need to equip teachers with guidelines and skills on how to deal with diverse student population, "it is contradictory to the concept of cultural diversity itself to expect that educational experts can enumerate specific practices that all teachers should learn and then apply uncritically across schools and communities with different histories and different needs" (Cochran-Smith, 2004, p. 46). Several researchers have drawn attention to how educational policies and practices often fail to differentiate between equity and color-blindness (Ladson-Billings, 1995; Cochran-Smith, 2004; Au, 2016; Herrera, 2016), which, although most of the time, is well-intended, risks stripping the learners from the specific contexts that shape their conditions. The researchers supporting the adoption of CRPs argue that such practices can enhance structural inclusion as they give voice and agency to the students who are more likely to feel included if the content and the pedagogy reflect their history, culture and identity and the way they see the world. CRP find resonance in Tayler's (1994) politics of difference which argue against the politics of the comprehensive universal identity of all and assert that human identity is created through "dialogical relations with others" (p. 34) which requires recognising the authentic uniqueness which "has been ignored, glossed over, assimilated to a dominant or majority identity" (p. 38). Thus, "the supposedly fair and difference-blind society is not only inhuman (because of suppressing identities) but also, in a subtle and unconscious way, itself highly discriminatory" (p. 43).

From a critical pedagogy perspective, Fletcher (2000) argues that educational practices should aim at a:

> [C]reating culturally-relevant pedagogy by developing an awareness among teachers and students of the larger context within which identity is constructed and through the creation of a school community that supports and sustains the efforts of individuals to see themselves as a part of a collective endeavour [and] requires that teachers recognise difference as a starting point for education, rather than an obstacle to achieving it […and] encourages students to see the connection between knowledge construction and empowerment by letting them question the knowledge they encounter (p.172).

Other critical pedagogues (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2002) have called for "a politics of difference that refuses to pathologize or exorcise the Other" (114) and through which "peripheralized groups in the thrall of a condescending Eurocentric gaze are able to edge closer to the borders of respect, and 'classified' objects of research potentially acquire the characteristics of subjecthood" (114).

[59] Also culturally responsive appropriate, and/or culturally sensitive pedagogies are also used and found in the literature (Cochran-Smith, 2004).

Framing citizenship education discourses and endeavours in a multicultural society requires that teachers visit and revisit post-colonial norms and relations, including the way the Other is seen as a subject vs. object (Said, 1979) and the way the Other's knowledge or epistemologies are validated or marginalized (De Sousa Santos, 2014). Diversi & Moreira (2009) write about the "inclusion of the missing bodies of the oppressed who continue to appear as subjects in the 'center' of knowledge production while being kept at the peripheries of sociological meaning-making by hegemonic rules of language use, theoretical sophistication, and representational authority (p. 21).

Some other researchers have discussed (global) citizenship education in relation to notions of colonialism and cultural hegemony (Andreotti, 2006), highlighting a charity-based approach to global issues (Bryan & Bracken, 2011). DesRoches (2016) calls for a 'decolonisation' of citizenship education, or a decolonisation of intercultural education (Gorski, 2008) which "requires in educators deep shifts in consciousness" (p. 517) to engage in battling "dominant hegemony, hierarchies, and concentrations of power and control" (p. 515), mainly represented through colonizing and neoliberal ideologies and practices.

Gorski (2010) expresses concerns over educational practices that attempt to address racism with relying on only "programs that celebrate diversity but ignore systemic racism or when we respond to class inequities by studying a fictitious "cultural of poverty" rather than attacking, or at least understanding the educational implications of, the sociopolitical context of economic injustice (pp. 2-3). Agreeing with Hammond (2019), I argue that CRPs go beyond what most intercultural education is about. They go beyond superficial celebrating of diversity or maintaining a harmonious living in a pluralistic classroom. They involve experiences that authentically respond to the learners to help them grow and reach their potentials. DeJaeghere (2009) suggests that pedagogical practices for citizenship education should address real problems and "go beyond the traditional intercultural understanding and learning about the 'other' or about respecting 'others' […which] involves a deep understanding that people in our societies have different values, beliefs, and constructions of meaning. It also requires engaging with others who hold different values and beliefs" (p. 230**).**

Apple (2000) highlights how teaching about other cultures can do more harm when the powerful dominant narrative is telling the story. He believes that the aim is not "functional literacy" but a powerful "political literacy which enables the growth of genuine understanding and control of all the sphere of social life" (p. 42)

> A 'common culture' can never be an extension to everyone of what a minority mean and believe. Rather, and crucially, it requires not the stipulation and incorporation within textbooks of lists and concepts that make us all 'culturally literate,' *but the creation of the conditions necessary for all people to participate in the creation and recreation of meaning and values*. It requires a democratic process in which all people – not only those who see themselves as the intellectual guardians of the 'Western tradition' – can be involved in the deliberation of what is important" (Apple, 2000, pp. 59-60)

The research provides examples of educational practices which propose a one-size-fit all delivery of citizenship teaching and do not fully recognize the particularities of students. Many teachers used statements similar to "I treat/see everyone the same." On the other hand, several teachers viewed differences as a problem to be eradicated or avoided. At the same time, the study showed examples of teachers engaged in constant efforts to learn and understand their students and appreciate the different backgrounds that shaped them. However, these teachers often faced many obstacles, such as standardised testing and a large number of students, which made it difficult to fulfil their vision of addressing students' particularities. More importantly, teachers often lacked the expertise and techniques of how to respond to diverse students' identities. Since it is so easy, even for experienced teachers "to fall from the top of the mountain," into ethnocentrism and egocentricim, constant reflection of self and the other should be a part and parcel of being a teacher. It was also noted that teachers prefer to work in a structured scaffolding manner, which proves problematic in teaching citizenship education in a diverse classroom.

According to Cochran-Smith, (2004), to teach in a diverse classroom, teachers need to ditch 'the lesson plan' and engage in generative inquiry stance involving other teachers and the community to generate a culturally sensitive pedagogy, based on teachers' reflecting on their own and their students' values and assumptions. This discussion can provide insights from several CRPs conceptualisation and practices. Coming from an asset perspective toward culturally and linguistically diverse students, Herrera (2016) proposes biography-driven instruction as a practical tool for culturally responsive teaching to integrate student knowledge with the curriculum and create opportunities for teaching and learning through 'third spaces,' spaces that are rich with alternatives and collaboration. She argues that such spaces can be "transformative" when teachers make decisions and provide a learning environment that go "beyond superficial attempts to 'celebrate' students' culture and language" and which value and use students' knowledge and experiences to be part of the curriculum (p. 14). Baker-Doyle (2017) maintains that being a transformative teacher involves creating safe third spaces for students to link their home and school cultures and negotiate different kinds of knowledge and identities. Since citizenship educators are often engaged in passing on values-laden content and instruction, the discussion can also benefit from Dadvand, & Cuervo's (2018) study of the provision of pedagogy of care at schools. They argue for the provision of care in a way that adheres to students' differences to avoid color-blindness and the often well-intended "arbitrary impositions" which can cause "disengagement from learning and confrontation with teachers for those whose lives have little resonance with the one-size-fits-all pedagogies that arise from the school's instrumental ethic of care" (p. 8). According to DeJaeghere (2009), schools should be talking about critical citizenship pedagogical approaches that bring coherency to other approaches found in different forms of education and apply them to the purposes of citizenship education in multicultural societies. These approaches are summarized in four main areas: 1. including marginalized knowledge and voices in the curriculum to allow for the construction of alternative forms of citizenship, and seeing this knowledge in relation to, and as a critique of, mainstream constructions of citizenship and democracy; 2. learning and enacting double-consciousness, which is examining one's perspectives about and identity related to citizenship through the eyes of another (self-awareness and awareness of others' perspectives) and understanding the complexities of citizen identity affected by

discrimination and oppression; 3. developing intercultural understanding through intercultural learning experiences to engage others in civic relations and spaces; and 4. utilizing strategies for collective social action, such as a collaborative engagement of students, teachers, schools, and communities to create social change.

Providing counter-narratives is also a useful strategy (Apple, 2000). One aspect of being a transformative teacher, according to Baker-Doyle (2017), is 'hacking' dominate discourses and providing alternative narratives on the classroom level as well as community or broader level:

> A classroom level hack of discourse is a praxis (pedagogy/action) hack. A teacher must consider curriculum, pedagogy, and social dynamics in a classroom, all of which contribute to narratives that can drive stereotypes and assumptions. A curriculum hack is not a 'fix' but, rather, an uncovering and transformation of the narrative of schooling" (p. 118).

This discussion brings about some challenging questions, such as whose knowledge counts as legitimate and thus a curriculum and teaching material (Apple, 2000). Other questions are "whether or how cultural groups should be recognized" which remain some of "the most salient and vexing on the political agendas of many democratic societies" (Gutmann, 1994, p. 5). For example:

> Should a liberal democratic society respect those cultures whose attitudes of ethnic and racial superiority, for example, are antagonistic to other cultures? If so, how can respect for a culture of ethnic or racial superiority be reconciled with the commitment to treating all people as equals? [...and] what precisely are the moral limits of legitimate demand for political recognition of particular cultures? (p. 5).

The above questions that Gutmann (1994) voiced were truly the most perplexing concerns that all the respondents have struggled with in this study. As discussed in previous sections, such questions remain unanswered and part of dealing with the contestation of social sciences and cultural relations. While they all agree that human rights should function as 'the moral limit,' in intercultural relations when it comes to teaching and classroom reality and the power relations involved, things can never be as clear, easy and straightforward.

Another issue that is worth addressing in this discussion is that while this research has above established that providing counter-narratives that challenge the hegemonic paradigm through the perspectives of the minoritized is important for achieving structural inclusion and transformative citizenship education, I argue that any integration of other cultures' materials should be done critically (Niyozov & Pluim, 2009; Apple, 2000).

While the scope of this research does not allow for extensive examining of the content of the topics, textbooks and the materials addressed in citizenship education, and due to the lack of research on this particular issue, I wish to reflect on one example from my experience while living and researching in difficult countries. I had the chance to be informally consulted about integrating topics and materials representing my linguistic and cultural background in university and school courses dealing with intercultural education. While I heartily acknowledge the good intention behind such initiatives, what I notice was that in the genuine effort to provide counter narratives and to give voice for the silenced and the marginalized,

those attempts had a rather apological aspect that failed to engage in the complexity, the contestation and the power relations that exist in the counter discourse itself. There was also the possible influence of the narrators who prepared those materials, whether an outsider or an insider of that culture. Niyozov & Pluim (2009) draw attention to this issue and invited teachers to critically examine intercultural knowledge according to "power dynamics and principles of justice" (p. 652), acknowledging that there are variations within any culture and that attempts to provide positive representations to help validate students' identity should be approached critically and should take into account the diversity of identities and the oppressed narratives and silenced voices and the fluidity of belongings within that 'non-western' knowledge. They also argue for the need for a parallel integration in 'non-western' schools and countries.

Since my involvement with textbook research in 2014, I have come to examine how official texts as well as recently counter narrative attempts constantly marginalise and eradicate certain voices and how manipulative narratives and media sources have mobilized hate and led to the suffering of millions in my home country. Therefore, this concern has become a conviction for me. In this research, only three respondents alluded to concerns with the way certain cultures are represented from the dominant perspective and seemed to refer to a particular cultural heritage and culture as a unified single content with no internal conflicts. Conceptualising teacher education for social justice as a political and learning problem, this research stresses that student teachers and teachers could benefit greatly from being exposed to critical literacy and the politics of text production and from given the chance to engage with perspectives and narratives that problematize all kind and sources of knowledge and to question the background of the narrator and the author of any text or piece of news. One good example to consider is to read texts in relation to the six common features of historical master narratives in relation to the concept of nation, as identified by Voss & Carretero (1994) and summarized as follow:

1. Exclusion-inclusion as a logical operation assigning positive aspects to the 'we' and negative aspects to 'the other'
2. Relying on affective more than the cognitive aspect to identity with the nation
3. Frequent presence of mythical and heroic characters and motives;
4. Search for freedom or territory as a common narrative;
5. Presence of moral orientations;
6. Essentialist concept of both the nation and the nationals as harmonious, eternal and unified.

7. 2. 4. Transformative learning through unlearning

Transformative learning, as established previously in this research, inevitably involves constant unlearning, revisiting, rethinking, reexamining and confronting old mindsets, knowledge and values that prove problematic in a certain new situation or encounter. This section illustrates how teachers' learning "is a long road with 'unlearning' as rugged but unavoidable part of a journey during which people double back, turn around, start and stop, reach dead ends, and yet, sometimes, forge on" (Cochran-Smith, 2004, p. xx).

I present below some of the prominent areas that need to be rethought and unlearned to achieve genuine citizenship education grounded in social justice.

7. 2. 4. 1. Unlearning the deficit mindset

The deficit mindset is based on "approaching students based upon our perceptions of their weaknesses rather than their strengths […which] is a symptom of larger sociopolitical conditions and ideologies borne out of complex socialization processes" (Gorski, 2010, p. 2). It often draws on well-known stereotypes to justify "a sort of 'blame the victim' mentality, applied, not to an individual person, but systemically, to an entire group of people, [and] often based upon a single dimension of identity. At the core of deficit ideology is the belief that inequalities result, not from unjust social conditions such as systemic racism or economic injustice, but from intellectual, moral, cultural, and behavioral deficiencies assumed to be inherent in disenfranchised individuals and communities" (Gorski, 2010, p. 4). The research illustrated examples of, mostly, well-intended attempts by teachers who see differences as deficit that need to be corrected by expecting students to be moulded into predefined 'good' identities rather than helping them reach their potentials in their own unique ways.

The deficit ideology, which "justifies outcome inequalities— standardized test scores or levels of educational attainment" (Gorski, 2010, p. 3), and which considers differences as a burden that needs fixing is represented in the data through the way students' achievements, active participation, good behaviours, and their overall interest in the educational endeavour is linked to their background and their assumed parents' interest, involvement and expectations of sending their children to schools. For example, in Austria, there is an assumption that low-income students are not interested in pursuing high levels of education and that they are content with a mediocre level degree that would secure them a job in the future. In Portugal, the majority of 'difficult' students who are sometimes segregated in one class to 'fix' them are from low-income and migrant background. Gorski (2010) argues that such justifying stereotypes and assumptions have become "socialized into the mainstream consciousness" (p. 6) to justify 'the socioeconomic achievement gap' and that while a counter discourse challenging deficit perspective are present, their focus is mainly on addressing individual biases rather than addressing "the ideologies or conditions which underlie and perpetuate the deficit perspective" (p. 2). With that in mind, we can argue that by attempting to 'fix' those who need fixing by offering mentoring and courses to 'correct' their 'wrong' behaviors and values, we conform to the deficit mindset and assume low expectations of certain groups and assume that the problem resides inherently in them rather than "understanding and addressing the larger sociopolitical context of class inequity" which is the "surest sign of deficit ideology: the suggestion that we fix inequalities by fixing disenfranchised communities rather than that which disenfranchises them" (Gorski, 2010, p. 6). 'Fixing' in such cases, "often means assimilating – as in assimilating poor students into the very structures and value systems that oppress them, as today's dominant discourse on poverty and education" (Gorski, 2008, p. 518).

Approaching this thinking from a social justice perspective, this research reflects on the tracking system in Austria and the tracking process and practices that regularly take place in Portuguese schools and argues that tracking is "inherently undemocratic" (Hess, 2009, p. 164) and if "democracy is about equality, then unequal access students have (due to their position in lower - or upper-level tracked classes) to content, pedagogy, and even good teachers, is deeply problematic" (Hess, 2009, p. 164).

Speaking about the context of the U.S., where tracking often occurs inside the school, Hess (2009) provides explanation how tracking particularly affects social studies and discussion of contested and controversial issues that are very common in citizenship education.

> First, when social studies classes are tracked, there is a tendency to lower the intellectual demands that are placed on students in the lower tracks. Given the difficulty of controversial issues discussions, they may be reserved only for students who are viewed as already capable of participating effectively in them (presumably the students in the upper-level classes). Moreover, the most skillful teachers are often placed with students in the upper-track classes. Given the amount of teachers' skill required to orchestrate controversial issues discussions, it seems likely that controversial issues discussions would happen most often under the direction of the skilled teachers in upper-level classes (p. 165).

A second ensuing problem of tracking, according to Hess (2009) explains that:

> When students are tracked in the name of ability, what often occurs is the funneling of students into homogenous groups in regards to race and socioeconomic status. Often, white, wealthier students […], while minority, poorer students are placed in basic and lower-level classes. The homogenous nature of these classes, consequently, can prevent the ideological diversity that we know greatly benefits controversial issues discussions (pp. 165-6).

Since democracy in this research is connected to justice, this research draws attention to the undemocratic characteristic of the schooling practices which have an impact for teaching for democracy and the way teachers and students from the 'lesser track' engage in the discourse of democracy, while fully aware of the identities ascribed to them. Based on the above discussion, I argue that the possibilities and challenges of schools, teachers, and students to engage in transformative citizenship education should be considered within contexts of such existing and established ideologies of tracking and unequal access to opportunities and the accompanying stereotypes and biases.

7. 2. 4. 2. Unlearning the neoliberal thinking in education

Whether complying to supranational EU recommendations or fulfilling a national aspiration of ensuring quality provision of citizenship education in schools, data from both countries illustrate a neoliberal-oriented accountability approach to teaching and learning, exemplified in the way citizenship education learning is viewed in a simplistic linear manner, the way merit, testing and student and teacher evaluation were administered, and the ways inequalities were disguised by objectivity, color-blindness and statements such as "I treat everyone the same way." This discussion is based on the argument that neoliberal approach to education is not in line with democracy (Apple, 2000; Carr, 2011; Au, 2016; Cochran-Smith et al., 2018). Au (2016) argues how the neoliberal discourse of individualism and equal access has masked the systemic and structural inequalities that privilege some groups and marginalise others. She employs the term "the ideology of meritocracy" which "asserts that, regardless of social position, economic class, gender, race, or culture (or any other form of socially or

institutionally defined difference), everyone has an equal chance at becoming 'successful' based purely on individual merit and hard work (p. 46).

In proposing a pedagogy of care as a counter discourse to neoliberal thinking, Dadvand & Cuervo (2018) argue how the neoliberal ideology and the ensuing "outcome-driven pedagogies are blamed for relegating issues of care and relationality to backseat status in a push towards greater 'standards', 'performativity' and 'accountability' (p.1). They argue that the issue of care "is not so much of its loss or absence from a neoliberal education project. Rather, the problem is the emergence of a competing conception of care, one that re-defines the notion primarily in terms of academic standards, learning outcomes and performativity" (pp.1-2), which has created a tension between "the performative ethic of care that the school is committed to and a care ethic that can cater for the more complex needs of marginalized students" (p. 2).

When it comes to teacher education, the data illustrates a move toward a universitization approach or trend to teacher education that is focused on raising the academic requirements of teachers to an MA degree or by transforming teacher colleges under the same umbrella along with universities. While it can be argued that it is a step to professionalise teacher education and respond to the policy trend that viewed teacher education as a policy problem, (Cochran-Smith, 2019), it could run the risk of further widening the research practice divide, by solely assuming that having students teaches write a master's thesis could solve the problem of teacher quality and thus schools' problems. Saying this, the research still acknowledges the transformative role of teachers' agency and never attempt to undervalue what individual teachers can do, but the research also highlights other important factors.

Coming from a stand that views teacher education as a value-laden area that is influenced by certain ideologies and values, Cochran-Smith and colleagues (2018) discuss how dominant accountability measures in teacher education nowadays reflect the influence of the neoliberal thinking on education to meet the needs of a global and competitive knowledge society. While their focus was the context of the US, they also provided examples from other countries. Cochran-Smith et al. (2018) highlight major problematic themes and aspects about the dominant accountability paradigm in teacher education. One problem is the focus on tests as conclusive of effectiveness, while ignoring other aspects and impacts. The paradigm also assumes a linear relation between policy and practice and thus between teacher preparation and quality and student accomplishment. It also displays mistrust and ignores "the fact that a true profession cannot be built out of a system of compliance and control that ignores the importance of local communities" (p. 187). Finally, the paradigm highlights a 'thin equity' approach which, assumes that teacher education, alone, is capable of addressing inequality in the society. A 'thin equity' perspective also assumes "that assimilation into "shared goals" (interpreted as majority values and goals) is a fundamental purpose of the education of minoritized students and that providing equal (i.e., "the same") access to equal (i.e., "the same") teachers, curriculum, and schools will bring about equity (p. 192). A strong equity, on the other hand, **"**requires identifying and undoing the racialized, structural, and systemic aspects of schools and society that maintain inequity as well as building on the knowledge and values of historically marginalized groups to establish curriculum, school polices, and 'shared values'" (p. 193). 'Strong' equity makes it important to *unlearn* assumptions about seeing and treating everyone the same while neglecting the underlying factors that create differences and inequalities (Cochran-Smith, 2004; Au, 2016). The following section provides an alternative that suits the frame of this research.

7. 2. 5. Democratic accountability in teacher education

An image of the teacher as an active agent poses a sharp contrast to the image of the teacher as a pawn pushed around by the fingers of habit, standard procedures, and expert outside knowledge (Cochran-Smith, 2004, p. 33)

In their intention not to "reject accountability in teacher education, but to rescue it from market ideology and individualism and to reclaim it for the democratic project," (p. 199), Cochran-Smith et al. (2018) propose an alternative by theorizing a democratic accountability which "requires redefining accountability's purposes and goals in terms of the common good, changing the narrative about the problem of teacher education, and radically disrupting existing power relationship" (p. 189). From the outlook of democratic accountability, "the goal is preparing teachers who create democratic learning environments that enhance students' academic, social, and emotional learning and also prepare them to participate constructively in a complex, diverse, and divided democratic society" (p. 195). While democratic accountability in teacher education does not proposes "uniformity" and "does not assume that all teacher education programs should meet exactly the same goals or use the same assessments, but it does assume that all teacher education programs are responsible for preparing teachers to identify and challenge inequities in schools and society" (p. 198). Table (9) illustrates a comparison between the dominant accountability paradigm and the proposed democratic accountability paradigm.

Table (9). Teacher Education Accountability: Comparison of the Dominant Accountability Paradigm and Democratic Accountability

	Dominant Accountability Paradigm	**Democratic accountability**
Cluster #1: Foundations of Accountability	• market ideology • thin equity • democratic discourse absent • education as a private enterprise	• ideology of strong democracy • strong equity • democratic discourse central • education as a public enterprise for the common good
Cluster #2: Framing "the Problem" of Teacher Education	• problem is teacher education's failure to produce a work force for the competitive global society • caused by teacher education's failure to earn public confidence and use rigorous data systems for improvement • problem of teacher education framed simplistically through a	• problem is teacher education's failure to prepare teachers and students to engage in deliberative democratic education • caused by the negative effects of the dominant accountability paradigm, which is subtractive and reproduces inequity

	managerial/human capital lens • based on a problematic theory of change, which lacks evidence	• problem of teacher education framed in a complex way through a critical democratic lens • based on a democratic theory of evaluation and change that builds on promising practices
Cluster #3: Power Relationships in Accountability	• external control demands internal compliance • based on mistrust of the profession • excludes relevant local stakeholders from participation in accountability decision-making • external accountability mechanisms require compliance, uniformity, and standardization • programs accountable for preparing teachers to pass standard performance measures and enhance students' test scores • standard, universal, external measures, and accountability tools	• generative and reciprocal relationship between internal and external accountability • based on and fosters trust of the profession • includes active participation and joint decision-making among relevant local stakeholders • builds capacity for internal accountability mechanisms that focus on intelligent professional responsibility • programs accountable for preparing teachers to enact deliberative and critical democratic education so students can engage in democratic deliberation • multiple complex local and external measures and accountability tools

Source: Cochran-Smith et al., (2018). Reclaiming Accountability in Teacher Education, as cited in Cochran-Smith et al., (2018, p. 190).

Another important and relevant aspect of a democratic accountability in teacher education is the joint contribution of all participants, including communities and families.

> This means that the content of accountability cannot be completely predetermined but rather it integrates local commitments and the goals of particular programs. This also means that school leaders and community members function as coequal teacher educators not simply as the co-occupants of the spaces used to prepare teachers (Cochran-Smith, et al., 2018, p. 197).

Some important question related to teacher education remain unaddressed so often. For example, in the same way, this research argued for the need for teachers to problematize power relations and sources of knowledge, teacher educators are also encouraged to engage in similar questions related to knowledge and power. Echoing Apple (2000) and several critical pedagogues, educators must ask questions about which knowledge is worth

transmitting in teacher education and whose knowledge and experiences deserve a place in the curriculum. In this respect, teachers' voices and perspectives have to be heard and considered when designing the curriculum (Howe & Covell, 2005). This alternative way of looking at teacher education is significant to the current study and the question of what sort of teacher we aim to have in a citizenship education classroom, a teacher who is not only an expert of the content and instruction, but a teacher who knows the students and knows "how to construct and maintain positive learning environments as well as deep understanding of what it means to live in a diverse, contentious, and heterogeneous society" (Cochran-Smith et al., 2018, p. 198).

7. 2. 6. Transformation through teacher inquiry: teachers as researchers

This research built on critical pedagogy and literature that view teachers as active agents and researchers. The term 'transformative teacher' made its first appearance in "literature that described teachers engaged in inquiry and professional leadership" (Baker-Doyle, 2017, p. 23). Reflective inquiry has been conceptualized as the fundamental process through which human beings gain knowledge from their experiences (Illeris, 2007). From the 1990s onward, teachers were seen "less as individual technical agents and more as collaborative professional enquirers and developers" and were thus encouraged to develop practices that suit their students' needs and contexts (Baker-Doyle, 2017, p. 15). Considering teacher education for social justice as a learning problem, "inquiry is understood to be a stance on teaching, learning, and schooling that is critical and transformative, rather than a project or an activity in a course" (Cochran-Smith, 2004, p. 14). Cochran-Smith (2004) used the *term inquiry as a stance* (not a project or a strategy) to emphasise the complexity of teaching as social and political activity and to provide a "grounding within the changing cultures of schools reforms and competing political agendas – a place to put one's feet, as it were, as well as a frame of mind" (p. 14). A teacher committed to an inquiry stance has a problem with technically following a prescribed plan. She or he, instead, engages in asking questions, understanding the students and their backgrounds, connecting and adopting several sources of knowledge as well as reconsidering some perspectives and practices in order to construct knowledge accordingly. Within this context, "constructing local knowledge and understanding is emphasised as much as or more so than developing a repertoire of 'best practice' or standard behaviour" (p. 16). According to Banks (2017) transformative teaching is related to the strong relation between social justice and promoting a culture of inquiry among teachers, who question dominant discourses of representations and marginalization.

While the approaches and processes to inquiry differ, according to Baker-Doyle (2017, they share one element:

> Positioning the teachers as intellectual thinkers and transformative professionals, questioning, collecting information, focusing on the present or particular, presenting work in public, and committing to using inquiry to improve teaching and learning (p. 26).

The data of this research present remarkable examples of teachers committed to a culture and practice of inquiry based teaching. Teachers especially asserted the role of inquiry-based teachers' communities as a place to belong and grow, a place to present their concern about the curriculum and engage in reflective discussions about reforms and expectations. Several

elements may have contributed to the facilitation of a culture of inquiry among citizenship teachers in this research. First the nature of citizenship education has historically been developed in a bottom-up manner, depending on teachers' initiatives. Second, there was a lack of textbooks in Austria at the beginning of the pilot program and in Portugal throughout the time of data collection. While this was viewed as a challenge to some teachers, others viewed it as an opportunity for learning, reaching out, communicating with other colleagues and NGOs, researching and downloading materials from the internet, using their common sense to choose materials suitable for each age group, using unconventional resources of knowledge, such as students' journals, keeping up-to-date with publications of citizenship. Third, the moral dimension of citizenship education as an education that is capable of securing peace and democracy might have had an influence on some teachers who were keen on fulfilling their moral responsibility toward living in a democratic society where different voices are encouraged. Finally, during this research, there was a considerable amount of global, EU and national interest in the topic, illustrated in multiple conferences, seminars, publications that were available for teachers. Surely, though, there were constraints such as time limitation, lack of support and guidance, limited teacher autonomy in certain contexts. Reflecting on the complexity involved in teaching for citizenship demands that teachers are given the agency "as policy owners, not solely as policy translators and implementers at schools and classroom level" (Mifsud, 2018, p. 195).

7. 2.7. Conceptualizing and addressing a teacher as a whole

The last element of discussing teacher education for social justice as a political and learning problem deals with the need to address teachers holistically by including all the dimensions of a human being, including the personal and affective[60] aspects which are often ignored in teacher education programs. Generally, there has been a growing attention to the impact of teachers' affective side on their profession (Boler, 1999; Palmer, 2003; Korthagen, 2004; Zembylas, 2007). Perceiving education and being a teacher from a human activity perspective, Palmer (2003) makes it necessary that teacher education address the whole dimension of a person in teachers, including their souls:

> If we want to help teachers-in-training understand their vocation in depth, we must uproot our tacit belief that 'Teachers like Mr. Porter are not made, but born.' Consciously or unconsciously, we are wedded to the notion that, although higher education can stock people's minds with facts and theories, and train them skillful means, it cannot help them grow larger hearts and souls (p. 378).

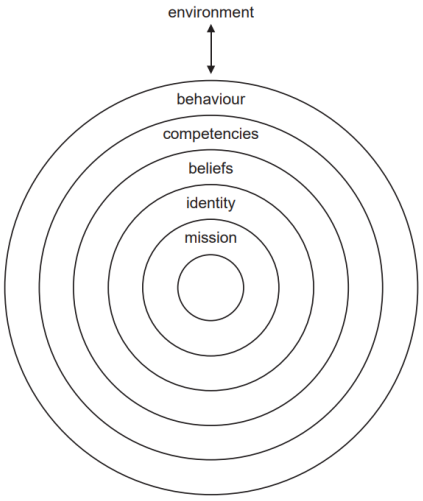
In his discussion of the reasons for the widening gap between research and practice and the "the transfer problem" from theoretical knowledge to practical knowledge, Korthagen (2010) argues that "promoting fundamental professional change is first of all a problem of dealing with the natural emotional reactions of human beings to the threat of losing certainty, predictability or stability" and that this "affective dimension is too much neglected in the technical-rationality approach" (2010, p. 410). Caetano & Silva (2009) insist on the

[60] For reasons of conciseness, I use the affective term to include emotions, values, dispositions, commitment, beliefs (and all those non-rational or non-cognitive aspects) although these terms may convey different connotations.

irreplaceable role played by the teachers' ethical reflection about pedagogical relationship in the process of educating and conveying values. Ramos (2010) asserts that teacher training programs need to consider integrating the personal development of teachers and view them as carriers of values. Dourado et al. (2016) maintain that teacher education is not only about knowledge and that teachers' emotions and how they shape teachers' practices should be addressed in training. In the context of Portugal, there are several studies that explore emotions, intuition and complexity in teacher education (Caetano, 2011; Caetano, 2017), the role of emotion in teacher educators' self-training (Caetano, Freire & Sobral, 2018), and the emotional dimension of teacher education (Bahia, Freire, Estrela & Amaral, 2013; Bahia, Freire, Estrela, Amaral & Espírito Santo, 2017).

Hoekstra & Korthagen (2011) discuss the personal side of teaching by looking at teachers as whole persons, arguing that the teachers' professional activities and the way they interpret knowledge are shaped by identities and beliefs. Therefore, they display their scepticism toward a focus on the cognitive and rational aspects of teacher education and the one-size-fit all innovations that are not relevant to the nowadays ever changing contexts, and they maintain that "a strong separation between cognition and affect is not possible and counterproductive if one wishes to support teachers in their development" (p. 77). In reference to the *onion model*, as presented in figure (5), showing the different levels where teacher learning takes place, Hoekstra & Korthagen (2011) argue how most of the focus of teacher learning has been concerned with the outer layers of the onion, whereas less attention has been given to the inner layers. They highlight the importance of engaging in multi-level learning and enhancing teachers' reflection on their identities and beliefs within their social contexts through mutual coaching or supervision. They encourage the act of "mindfulness" which "entails awareness of one's feelings, needs, and bodily reactions and does not necessarily include conceptual awareness," suggesting that a teacher's practice "is rooted in his or her sense of identity and mission" (p. 80).

Figure (5). The Onion Model



Source: Korthagen (2004, p. 80).

In relation to citizenship education, Osler & Starkey (1996) think that teachers' perspectives of their own and their students' identities are likely to influence the way they handle citizenship education, both in designing the curriculum and classroom interaction. However, they note, that most teacher education programs do not encourage teachers to reflect on their identities or views during their teaching. Estelles & Romero (2019) claim that teachers' practices linked to citizenship education are often based on unconscious beliefs and that "visions of citizenship education are explicit and rational as well as tacit and barely conscious, partially expressed through metaphors" (p. 134). Willemse et al. (2015) argue that teachers are morally responsible for their students, and although "not all teachers are used to thinking about themselves as moral agents" (p. 119) partly due to accountability standards, it is important that they reflect on the moral aspect of teaching. They go on to suggest "a meaningful professionalization strategy" based on inquiry, collaboration and involving teachers in curriculum design and development, as a way "to enhance teachers' awareness of their beliefs, values and the (implicit) theories they hold" (p. 120) and to thus improve teaching for citizenship in schools. Patterson, Doppen & Misco (2012) link learning in citizenship to "belief systems" or "internal schemas that provide the framework within which we make decisions (p.193). they think that "[q]uestioning these beliefs systems in ourselves and our students has the promise of impacting practice, in that, once attention has been paid to mining belief schema, the likelihood that teachers will connect content studies to action is greater" (p. 205). Biesta (2014) highlights the need for teacher education to "be concerned with the formation of the whole person," and draw attention to what he calls a teacher's "educational wisdom" (p.135), which is related to teachers' values and not to their professional knowledge or skills. Similarly, Willemse et al. (2015) speak of teachers' moral judgment that are not addressed in teacher education.

Drawing on this understanding of the teacher entails that "'becoming a teacher' or a cultural worker concerned with social justice involves far more complex bodies of knowledge and conceptual insights" (Kinchloe 2007, p. 12). This research presented findings suggesting the importance of considering teachers' personal aspects when engaging in citizenship education. Teachers displayed views and practices that show to what extent they believed in the project of democracy, justice or reaching the heart and souls of students. Teachers were driven by personal convictions and beliefs that made them decide to be teachers in the first place. Some teachers were able to articulate these special dispositions and values they hold which make them 'different' from other teachers who are only 'doing the job.' Some even suggested that those personal stands they had were far more important than training and that training was not sufficient to develop those 'humanistic' dispositions. Thus, the research argues that teacher education program and training should consider the teacher as a whole and that "developing theoretical and methodological frameworks and practices that affirm a holistic look at teachers' and students' lives will provide a new sense of exploring the ways through which emotions are constituted in educational arenas" (Zembylas, 2007, p. 69). The research argues that it is within this value and moral aspect that transformation emerges.
Yet, the research admits that this comes with challenges and risks. If we consider that teacher education should address the affective aspects of teachers, including values, and the self, some questions and concerns need to be addressed. For example, establishing a pedagogy of emotions remains a difficult task to achieve in education (Zembylas, 2007). Zembylas (2007) explains how several factors have made addressing emotions in education and teacher

education a problematic issue, including the “deep prejudice against emotions” in western culture (p. 59), the multiple and divergent approaches to studying and conceptualization emotions, and the way emotions (private sphere) have often be contrasted with the rational cognition when studying education. There is also the question of whether it is acceptable or possible to confront teachers with their values and to what extend can teacher education endeavors into the personal and the emotional.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

Situated within the EDiTE framework of the *Transformative teacher learning for better student learning in the emerging European context,* this research aimed to provide some exploration and interpretation of teachers' conceptualisations and practices when teaching for citizenship education and the implication of *transformative teacher learning* in the context of Austria and Portugal. The study was set to investigate how school teachers in Austria and Portugal conceptualized and experienced teaching for democratic citizenship. The study highlighted the vital role of the teacher and the implications on transformative education and provided a critical examination of citizenship education in general, its goals and implementation, and some of the tensions, the gaps and the different ways teachers in the two countries envisioned education for democracy through practice.

Overall data revealed the essential role of teachers' personal beliefs and dispositions in teaching about citizenship as well as lack of teacher preparation in this area of education both in initial teacher education and in-service teacher education. Findings also revealed an apolitical approach to citizenship, mainly represented by a tendency to emphasize a personally responsible conceptualization of citizen, which, in turn, undermined the citizen-in-context and overemphasized the rational and linear approach to citizenship. The findings illuminated how teaching citizenship in a time of diversity, multiple and fluid identities and intersectionality posed many questions, challenges and opportunities for educators. A lack of coherent and consistent discourse on citizenship was also suggested along a gap between policy and practice. Findings were presented and discussed in relation to the special historical and political context of each country and did not intend to compare or contrast findings. The study proposed a transformative and social justice oriented framework for teachers and teacher educators to approach teaching for democratic citizenship as a political and learning enterprise that reconsidered and challenged mindsets and practices that prove unjust and limiting in today's plural society and situated within an approach to the teach as whole and acknowledgment of the complex, the unpredictable and the risky endeavor of education.

A very important step in doing this research was defining the social, historical and political context within which the data was produced. While doing this research, important questions were considered. That included the country where data was collected, the language used, the institutional background/position of the party that produced the data, the time the data was collected and whether they were a result of a new movement, initiative, reform, etc. For example, the legislations on citizenship education in Portugal were analyzed as a part of an overall recent education reform carried out by a leftist, pan-European government that aimed to give schools more flexibility.

Being a value-laden, interpretive research, the value of this research was not based on whether it could be replicable but rather on how much it would add to our understanding of an issue (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006). In this case, the study aimed to add further theoretical and empirical research to the existing research on citizenship education in the two countries and other countries and systems investing in furthering citizenship education and working to develop initiatives to promote education for democracy.

In this research, I attempted to provide an understanding of transformative citizenship education that placed the political as an integral part of teaching for a democratic society to challenge the status quo and problematize normative beliefs and practices that prove unjust. I based my arguments on perspectives from researchers who link democracy to social justice by contemplating on questions such as: what kind of person or what kind of society do we aim to achieve by schooling? The research advocated for an understanding and approach to citizenship education that was not based on socialization and the "production of particular identities or subjectivities or the insertion of newcomers into an existing social order" but rather on the diverse ways in which human beings "as unique, singular individuals come into the world" (Biesta, 2006, p. 117). This view then does not claim any truth about human being and yet entails a responsibility for teaches represented in a:

> [C]oncern for the paradoxical - or deconstructive - combination of *education and its undoing* [...]. Educators and teachers should be aware that what disrupts the smooth operation of the rational community is not necessarily a disturbance of the educational process, but might well be the very point at which students begin to find their own unique, responsive, and responsible voice (Biesta, 2006, pp. 115-6).

This view support "an openness toward new and different ways of being human" (Biesta, 2006, p. 106), which can help teachers to consider different and new ways of becoming citizens or taking initiatives and to develop concepts and approaches that focus on the shift in their understanding of citizenship as an 'achievement' into considering citizenship as a 'practice' (Lawy & Biesta, 2006). This also entails that technical instruction of what citizenship education proves inadequate and that teachers need to engage in transformative learning and teaching approaches that include all aspects of being. The research emphasized the role of teachers by drawing on theoretical and empirical discussion on teachers' role and agency in teaching citizenship education in school. The research makes it clear that current social changes require teachers not to just be technical translators of the curriculum but active and responsive actors who can deal with the ambiguity and complexity of educational relations. The research highlighted that a part of a teacher's agency that was often ignored in teacher education involved his or her identity and disposition. The research provided empirical evidence how teachers in both countries spoke of their dispositions and training as two different domains, which could be an indication for teacher education or training programs lacking a discourse on teacher's identity and personality. The research therefore supported the argument that teachers should be viewed as a whole and that teacher educators understand the underlying dispositions and values of student teachers about democracy, the other, immigration, justice and human rights. At the same time, the research posed some critical questions regarding the validity or possibility of addressing values and dispositions in teacher education.

The research reported on the lack of coherent discourse on citizenship education in the two countries resulting in gap between research and practice. This, in turn, posed questions about whether establishing an overarching supranational European, or global discourse and policies on citizenship is possible when inconsistency remained within the national and sometimes even within one school context.

The research also built on arguments on how the current context of Europe represented by increasingly diverse classrooms, increasing mobility, a large number of immigrants (permanent and temporary), refugees, asylum seekers, and many people living with multiple social identities and transnational and diasporic identities make it necessary that teacher education programs engage in bold discussions about notions such as belonging, participation, and democratic citizenship. All of the above mentioned approaches to teaching citizenship also requires teachers who are brave enough to negotiate disruptions, emotions, conflicts in the classroom which in turn means teachers who have the disposition to understand democracy as a dynamic process

In this research I have illustrated how my ethical and epistemological crisis has led me to reconsider my theoretical stands and to join voices that propose reviving critical pedagogy to take into account the affective side of the teachers and students (Zembylas, 2018b) and thus to integrate "an ethic of care as a component of a more inclusive citizenship" that "offers social and political mechanisms in which care can be extended to those socially excluded individuals ascribed the status of lesser citizens or non-citizens" which "a promising alternative to dominant discourses of citizenship in education" (Zembylas & Bosalek, 2011, p. 19). I propose that more studies on citizenship education from an ethics of care perspectives as well as other non-dominant frameworks of citizenship education are looked into. One example is studying citizenship education and intercultural education from a post-humanist perspective (Pederson, 2010), which "complicates many assumptions surrounding the relations between education and democracy and provides new perspectives on the notion of 'voice' in a context where individual and collective voices of disadvantaged or subordinate groups (human or animal) are marginalized or silenced (p. 687).

There is a need for more extensive research on citizenship education, particularly empirical studies that examine classroom practices and teachers' approaches to materials and topics. The already noted lack of coherency in citizenship discourse and the difficulty to define its aims as well as the different modes of delivering citizenship education have made research more challenging. For further suggestions and recommendations for future lines of research, the research suggests investing in efforts to examine how teachers negotiate and construct their own personal identities when teaching for citizenship. This can be conducted through an ethnography or narrative research. Future studies could continue to look at the impact of textbooks on teachers (Apple & Christian-Smith, 1991; Apple, 2000) and their potential to empower them or to "alienate teachers and limit their agency" by discouraging them to question "the social economic and political status quo" and preventing "teachers' involvement in changing the monolithic educational agenda (Koutselini, 2012, p. 3).

This research initiated some discussions about the new changes and reforms taking place in the two countries examined. The Curriculum of Flexibility and Autonomy in Portugal has been a major recent reform that teachers and school are still struggling to fully understand and adopt in their practices. Empirical research including action research and ethnographies on teachers' understandings and practices within the new reform could provide vital input for teacher education programs and training.

Finally, sceptical voices remain regarding whether we actually need to have citizenship education in schools and to what extent we wish to engage students in civic engagement and whether there is an impact or not. I join the voices of all the respondents in this study to argue that yes we do need to have citizenship education in schools in whatever mode available even if outcomes are not predicted or guaranteed because after all believing in "the beautiful risk of education"[61] is a worthwhile endeavour. The research highlighted the complexity and fluidity of the topic which involves morality and values and thus, a never-ending discussion. The research with that acknowledged that:

> [T]he space where education, democracy and the moral life intersect is a space in which the laws of logic are suspended and opposites collide, a space where individual moral citizen-selves contain opposites. In this way, educating moral citizens requires cultivating an ability to recognize and accept the crazy and contradictory wonder of a mystery spot (Verducci, 2008, p. 7).

Final personal remarks

Being a teacher before being a researcher, writing this dissertation comes from a personal conviction that education has a moral responsibility to actively address local and global problems and threats, such as poverty, illiteracy, injustice, the military race, corruption, pollution, and violence. At a time when there is great faith in economic progress, technology, and communication and their potentials in solving the world's problems, we stand helpless in facing major threats and crises that are no longer local issues but rather global problems, surpassing borders and regions and influencing the lives of all. Election results from some of the world's stable democracies have stirred common beliefs and posed questions about the sustainability and the fragility of what we call democracy. This forces me to think about the type of education we need and the kind of society or individual we want to have in our world.

Growing up in Syria in the 1990s, and like almost all my contemporaries, my encounter with the discourse and practice of 'democracy' and citizenship education was particular. From primary school onwards, we were automatically enlisted in children and youth organizations, controlled by the one and only ruling party, to 'educate' us to be 'good' citizens. The Ba'ath party emerged as an anti-colonial party that called for a free, socialist, and united Arab nation from the 'Gulf to the Atlantic.' We saluted both the Syrian flag and the Pan-Arab flag every morning, while singing the 'three eternal aims:' Unity, Liberty and Socialism. We called each other 'comrade' and wore military uniforms to schools (which was the official uniform for all students from 7 grade until 12 grade up until 2002). Shackled by a rigid, authoritarian system, education served the political agenda of the one party and allowed for no other alternative perspectives. In our citizenship education, *watania*, which literally translated as nationalism, we had to read and memorize testimonies of the party which trumpeted democratic ideals and the formulation of 'active' citizens. Yet, at the same time, being a product of that society made us all aware of the risks of venturing to be active and liberated citizens. In high school, I was given a harsh verbal warrant threatening to expel me from the youth organization for

[61] Biesta (2014) book title

failing to participate in a national parade and for arguing with the teacher and grounding my argument on principles from our party constitution, how dared I? Luckily, the issue was resolved locally through the principle who happened to like me for being a nerd, an asset to the school. After spending years of being an "active" member of the school youth organization, which mainly included attending lectures and camps, I found myself like many others caged by rhetoric and empty promises and unattainable dreams and slogans like that of a united Arab nation, while there were severe injustices taking place locally.

Two years though university, in 2004, I was accepted into a scholarship program to continue my undergraduate studies in a US university, coordinated by AMIDEAST. That was my first time abroad and it changed me forever because it took miles away from home to learn about home. I majored in English and International Studies and I was confronted for the first time in my life with an education system that openly negotiated and accepted multiple narratives and perspectives. There, I also encountered a different face of citizenship education that was no more about praising an essentialist national identity, idolizing leaders and dehumanizing the 'enemies'. I had the opportunity to be involved in civic-oriented and service-learning projects which later qualified me to work as an ACE (Advocate for Community Engagement). My tasks included coordinating multiple service-learning programs between the university students and various community partners, including seniors' homes, pre-schools, churches, and refugee camps. The rationale was that university students needed to interact and give back to the community and reflect on those experiences in journals. There were examples of students who were demotivated and did not appreciate that 'obligatory' volunteering aspect of service-learning. On the other hand, such experiences had transformative influences on some other students and the way they saw the other, which made the task a worthwhile endeavor.

After completing my studies and returning home, I had different things in minds ranging from law and diplomacy to journalism. However, since my degree was 'foreign,' I could not work in any public sphere or continue my studies at university until having my degree go through a long bureaucratic process of equalization which would often take one year or more (it did take two years a half!). The silver lining of this story was that this was how I became a teacher, which was never a plan. I started working as a teacher of English at a private school in Aleppo. Private schools were often lenient with unequaledized foreign degrees but still needed to cover up if an inspection occurred. From the first days of teaching, I felt like doing nothing else in my life as a profession! After about two years of teaching at that school, I decided that I wanted to study more about the art of teaching. Since my degree was still in the endless process described above, I started looking for scholarships to study abroad. In 2009, I received an Endeavour Scholarship to study at an Australian university and embarked on an MA in Applied Linguistics/Teaching English as Second Language journey. Looking back at that program and the way it 'prepared' me to be a teacher, I would say that it was useful in providing me with the technical skills through courses on grammar teaching theories, content/skill-based teaching, testing, sociolinguistics, phonetics, etc. However, some vital aspects, including the human aspect, of teaching were missing.

Upon returning home and resuming teaching, the March 2011 uprising (parallel to other Arab Spring protests across the region) started and has changed the country in every aspect

imagined ever since. Although, like many others, I was enthusiastic about a new change to the stagnant system, all of a sudden, we found ourselves trapped between several ruthless sides fighting different kinds of proxy wars in our home. The genuine voices that first called for a democratic civil society for all have vanished, fled or have been crushed and silenced. The media, the lack of serious interventional peace-making efforts to protect civilians and the pouring in of weapons have contributed to endless violence. Disillusioned, afraid and drained, many decided to leave what they called 'home.' My home then was Idlib. Mainly known for its olive farms, Idlib was so unimportant and forgotten before the uprising that the majority of our national maps did not even bother to mention its name. It has become so famous these days that world leaders have mastered the way it is pronounced and has been included in international news headlines. One 2012 October day, my family and I left home aiming South, to the capital, where things were relatively less dramatic, or so we thought. I soon found a teaching job at a small private university and continued on living. Truly, the most difficult part of my profession as a teacher at that time was that I had to keep living normally in conditions that were far from being normal. My fellow teachers and I taught classes and attended training sessions on innovative teaching despite the disappearances of loved ones. We went shopping, threw birthday parties and indulged in delicious street food while the smell and sounds of war were surrounding us. We gave exams and distributed students so far apart to ensure righteousness and candidness while vivid sounds of shelling from the nearby regions engulfed the exam hall. We had to resume teaching and demand cognitive attention and emotional stability from our students after being interrupted by the 'eyes' who came looking for some names or faces. I listened passively to conversations in the teacher's room blaming young men and women whose careless and 'juvenile' actions had led to the suffering of their families. We could not show faces of mercy or empathy or it could have been branded as lack of nationalist sentiments and sympathizing with the enemies. One time, I had to teach the students about a chapter on the importance of recycling and require them to write a paper. In a country where everything was broken down except for the machine of war, there was no existence of infrastructure or will for recycling or sustainable living. Ironically, I still vividly recall a poster on an advertising board showing a picture of a bird strangled with a plastic bag that was displayed in the streets of Damascus in 2012. The poster said something about the danger of plastic to the environment and how we were all responsible as good citizens to save it. The poster seemed like it came from a different planet, detached from what was happening, and was intended to invoke feelings of responsibility and guilt. The irony and the feelings I encountered every time I saw that poster still haunt me. I choose not to disclose how my colleagues and I dealt with such incidents that tested our sanity and moral agency but, admittedly, I often worked against what I truly believed in as a teacher. My teaching was based on my aim to make my students to be passive and to accept the repression as normal. I bring these personal reflections to highlight some of my crucial encounters with teaching as a social and moral practice and the way issues of civic identities and individualistic initiatives need to be problematized and contextualized within certain political and historical conditions. However, while I argue that the existence of a political will is needed for any action or change, I never intend to undervalue any individual initiatives or agency.

In a lecture about the framework for democratic culture, Martyn Barrett, explains how the term democratic culture is intentionally used by the Council of Europe to highlight that

democracy requires democratic institutions which cannot "function properly unless citizens hold democratic values and attitudes and are willing to engage in democratic practices." He brings the example of the lesson learnt from "the attempt to invade middle eastern countries and set up democratic systems" while there was no democratic culture to sustain those institutions.[62] While his comments are valid to an extent, my current conviction was also to argue the other way around: *citizens' democratic values and attitudes can never function or translate into realities in the absence of strong democratic institutions and serious political frame and inclination to include, channel and protect those attitudes, no matter how different from the mainstream they may be.* Citizens' disposition and commitment to tolerance, progress and sustainability cannot be fulfilled with no political will or structural support.

Finally, I am thankful for being a part of EDiTE that enabled me to embark on this research which has contributed to how I continue to learn. During a presentation on my research last August, one of the attendants asked me: "what did you take from this research?" My answer was that I took so many complexities, ambiguities and unanswered questions.

[62] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5vWfNQ_MX8A

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Appendices

Appendix (1): interview guide

Interview question	Aim	Corresponding theme(s)
1. What are the core principles and aims of the subject you teach?	To elicit teachers intention and purpose of teaching the subject	Teachers' goals when teaching for citizenship
2. Why do you teach this subject? Why do you think it is important?	To examine teachers' motivation for teaching the subject which reflects their concepts and beliefs about teaching for democratic citizenship and its relevance and importance for the present time which can reflect teacher's democratic competences	-Teachers' conceptualisation and understanding of democracy and democratic citizenship education -Teachers' goals when teaching for citizenship
3. What is a good citizen to you? And does schooling help create a good citizen	To stimulate the discussion about what good citizenry is and what teachers consider as good citizen and their opinions regarding that and the role of schools and education in promoting citizenship	-Teachers' conceptualisation and understanding of democracy and democratic citizenship education
4. What do you think is the most important outcome that you want students to take from your class and is it always achievable?	To elicit teacher's priority goals when teaching for citizenship and by using the word 'outcome' the question attempts to understand how teachers view students learning in a citizenship class and whether they tend to believe in the linear approach to learning democracy	-Teachers' conceptualisation and understanding of democracy and democratic citizenship education -Teachers' goals when teaching for citizenship
5. How are students evaluated in your course? And what is your preferred way of evaluation?	To draw on teachers' pedagogical approaches (namely assessment here) to understand how they view learning for citizenship and whether they view it as an 'outcome'	-Teachers' conceptualisation and understanding of democracy and democratic citizenship education -Teachers' pedagogical approaches and practices when teaching for citizenship
6. What are some challenges to teaching this course in your school and	-to provoke teachers to elaborate on the status of citizenship education in schools, any problems, limitations, opportunities, etc. and what they	-Challenges to teaching citizenship in schools

in Portugal in general? And what can be done?	consider as good response to tackle them	-Teachers' conceptualisation and understanding of democracy and democratic citizenship education
7. Why do you think teachers should teach about controversial issues? How prepared and confident are you in dealing with controversial issues in the classroom? What might hinder or discourage you from discussing controversial issues in the class? Did you receive any guidance or training?	To understand teacher's understanding of the importance of dealing with controversial issues when teaching for citizenship and their professional readiness to address that vital aspect of teaching for democracy	-Teacher and dealing with controversial issues when teaching for citizenship -Teachers' conceptualisation and understanding of democracy and democratic citizenship education -Teachers' professional learning and preparation to teach citizenship education -Challenges to teaching citizenship in schools
8. What pedagogical approaches do you follow in the classroom, for example when approaching a controversial subject?	To obtain data on how teachers teach citizenship. The example of how to deal with a controversial issue is just an case to illustrate the pedagogical practices. Teachers can also speak about their practices in general	-Teachers' pedagogical approaches and practices when teaching for citizenship -Teacher and dealing with controversial issues when teaching for citizenship
9. How do you define democracy? and how democratic you think is your country? And how does your course contribute to education for democracy?	To elicit teacher's beliefs about democracy and the relation between democracy and education and whether teaching for citizenship is capable of safeguarding and maintaining democracy	-Teachers' conceptualisation and understanding of democracy and democratic citizenship education -Teachers' goals when teaching for citizenship
Notes: -Questions (3-4-5) were designed were communicated in a way that attempted to understand teachers' understanding of how teaching and learning for democracy occurs and whether they believed in the traditional linear approach to citizenship education which views citizenship as an outcome that can be measured.		

Appendix (2): Consent form

Interview Consent Form

The current research investigates teachers' conceptualisation of citizenship education (Geschichte und Sozialkunde/Politische Bildung) and its goals and the impact on teacher's approach to the curriculum and their practice in the classroom.

The research is a part of the "European Doctorate in Teacher Education" (EDiTE), that has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation program under the Marie Sklodowska-Curie grant agreement number 676452. Further information can be found on http://www.edite.eu.

Thank you for participating in this interview! Please sign the form below to certify that you approve the following:

1. The interview is voluntary.
2. The interview will take approx. (30-40 min).
3. You have the right not to answer questions and if you feel uncomfortable at any point, you may withdraw from the interview and withdraw your data.
4. You have the right to ask questions and receive understandable answers before providing an answer.
5. Access to the transcript will be limited to the researcher and academic supervisors and colleagues involved in the same project.
6. The interview will be recorded and later destroyed after a transcript is produced.
7. Your confidentiality as a participant in this study is secured. Your name or any information that can identify you will not be used.

Name of Participant: _____ *Signature:* _____

Date:

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